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Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse
KANATA KIT ONE: A CLASSROOM EXPERIENCE

University — Université
UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade 1981	Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse DR. D. MASSEY

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KANATA KIT ONE:
A CLASSROOM EXPERIENCE

by

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A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
SPRING, 1981

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

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ABSTRACT

A growing recognition of the limitations of traditional approaches to educational research and evaluation has generated a search for more holistic, qualitative, and interpretive ways of studying the phenomena of classroom life. How teachers and students perceive and use ideas embedded in new curriculum materials is an important concern in the area of curriculum implementation. Therefore, capturing the "vivid presence" of lived-in classroom experiences with a set of curriculum materials and rendering the ineffable qualities of such transactions into an educational portrait was a major purpose of the study. Such a phenomenological description of the "experienced curriculum" can contribute to a full and thorough knowledge of the particular which permits an understanding of other similar experiences in new and different contexts.

The research process, itself, calls for a more open disclosure of the many personal and social confrontations inherent in the research act. Most research reports tend to present a rational, linear, "reconstructed-logic" view of what happened during inquiry. Consequently, much of the dynamic and dialectical quality of what is involved in researching remains concealed. In contrast, another important purpose of this study was to provide a reflexive, personal account of a research experience, indicating where conceptual and procedural changes occurred during the process of inquiry.

While preparing to "study" the meaning of curriculum in a classroom setting, the researcher reviewed the literature on curriculum implementation and on the use of participant-observation methodology in educational research. After entering the research setting, through

empathic understanding and vicarious participation in the pressing realities of classroom life, the researcher began to "experience" the meaning of curriculum for classroom participants in the context of their everyday life-worlds. The phenomenological sociology of Alfred Schutz provided a conceptual framework for interpreting this classroom experience. New Journalism, a genre of literary nonfiction and a form of aesthetic criticism, suggested the unique blend of evocative and discursive language needed for communicating and critiquing its qualitative aspects.

For approximately four months, one particular grade one teacher and her students were observed as they transacted with a multi-media social studies kit intended to assist teachers in their implementation of a newly revised social studies program. The extensive verbal portrait of their significant educational experiences, as perceived and interpreted by the researcher, was submitted to the classroom teacher for a collaborative confirmation of its veracity. Her willingness to expose her experiences and those of her students to a wider audience has allowed the acquisition of potentially valuable insights into the meaning of curriculum from the perspectives of classroom participants involved in its implementation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study has been stimulated and nurtured by many people. I am deeply grateful to my supervisor, Dr. D. Massey, for his patience, advice, and enthusiasm which helped bring this research venture to fruition. Thanks are extended also to the other committee members: Dr. T. Aoki, Dr. W. H. O. Schmidt, and Dr. M. Horowitz, for their assistance and encouragement during this research experience and during my graduate program of studies. Appreciation is expressed to the external examiner, Dr. E. Vallance, for her constructive criticism and insightful comments.

Thanks are due also to my colleagues and friends who provided an extensive personal support system. To all, my sincere gratitude.

Appreciation is expressed to my husband, Steve, and to my sons, Percy and David, who participated with me in the continuing growth process of learning what it means when a woman tries to develop "a room of her own."

I would also like to thank the Province of Alberta and the Izaak Walton Killam Memorial Foundation for providing the financial assistance which enabled me to pursue my studies in an environment that was ideal for such intellectual work.

Thanks also to Stephanie, my typist, and to Merle, the classroom teacher, two people who made this study possible. Finally, I would like to dedicate this study to Anastasia, my mother, who started this sheepskin-to-sheepskin journey.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Need for the Study

For more than a decade the educational literature has warned educators not to accept, unchallenged, a curricular language full of technological myths and metaphors and an educational ideology which reflects, almost exclusively a means-ends economic rationality.[1] The need to transcend this verbal prison and to slip these ideological bonds has been joined by a growing disillusionment with the results of traditional educational research and development designs and practices. The failure of applied social research methods to resolve important policy issues in education has tarnished the image of R&D efforts to improve education (West, 1977).

Within the educational research community, serious doubts have been raised about the methodological research traditions borrowed from the more prestigious sciences (Cronbach, 1975; Husen, 1974; Snow, 1974) and some of the philosophical assumptions of educational researchers have been questioned (Thomas, 1972). Similarly, the relatively new field of curriculumevaluation has encountered a variety of problems, both theoretical and methodological (Parlett & Hamilton, 1976).

---

[1] Curricularists such as Huebner (1965), Macdonald (1965), Kliebard (1972), Apple (1972), Popkewitz (1976), and others have criticized the widespread use of a technical instrumental language in curriculum. The role of ideology in directing educational thought and practice also has been recognized: e.g., Apple (1976, 1978, 1979); Bernbaum (1977); Bernier & Williams (1973); Eggleston (1975); Greenfield (1979); Inglis (1974); Jaenen (1974); Johnson (1976); Shapiro (1974); Smith (1975); Stevens (1976); Young (1971).

As pressures for educational change and innovation expanded and proliferated, absorbing more and more public and private funds, evaluation studies became an integral part of curriculum development projects. Because of the prevailing instrumental attitude in curriculum thinking, most evaluation studies of the curriculum in context have used the strategies, foci, and assumptions of the classical "agriculture-botany" paradigm, which derives its hypothetico-deductive methodology from the experimental and testing traditions in psychology (Parlett, 1972). More recently, a second and contrasting paradigm has emerged from the traditions in anthropology, psychiatry, and participant-observation studies in sociology. This alternative "social-anthropology" paradigm, which views evaluation as illumination, has challenged the traditional instrumental concern with accurate measurement of quantitative learning outcomes (Parlett, 1972). The rivalry between these two evaluation positions--instrumental and illuminative--continues to generate much debate in curriculum studies.

A Search for Constructivist Approaches

As increasing numbers of educators began to recognize the limitations of mainstream quantitative research and evaluation, attempts were made to broaden the field. A search was launched for more "constructivist" approaches (Magoon, 1977) which would include holistic, qualitative, hermeneutical, interpretive, and critical modes of social inquiry. An accompanying move to refocus educational research and evaluation toward the "practical" prompted an exploration of analogous methodologies within other disciplines such as ethnography (Wilson, 1977) and aesthetic criticism (Eisner, 1977). Another possible source is New Journalism, a nonfiction literary genre whose unique blend of discursive and evocative language suggests a powerful tool for communicating and critiquing the complexity and richness of events experienced in an educational setting (Barone, 1980).

The new research thrust, which evolved during the 1970s, was reflected also in the curriculum literature. Beginning with Schwab's three major critiques of curriculum (1969, 1971, 1973), the proposed "recalibration" of curriculum inquiry away from its theoretic preoccupations toward actual practice (Schubert, 1980) required a basic reorientation of the fundamental premises underlying most current curriculum research. Like Kuhn's (1970) concept of a "paradigmatic shift," it challenged the intellectual orthodoxy of traditional curriculum research and practice.

Proponents of a practical research or evaluation orientation make significantly different claims about the nature of human behavior and the appropriate ways of seeking knowledge about it. Unlike theoretic researchers or evaluators who locate problems in abstract models or conceptualizations, the practically-oriented assume that the proper source of problems for investigation is in the study of the perceptions and actions of people in concrete instances. Instead of using methodology based on detached observation and rational categorization, practical researchers or evaluators consider involvement and experience important components in studying human interaction in its natural setting. The purpose of such interactive deliberation between the researcher/evaluator and the problematic situation, what Dewey called "transaction" (Dewey & Bentley, 1949), is not to discover universal laws that explicate or predict human behavior, but to resolve particular curricular dilemmas confronting educational practitioners.

Instead of imitating the techniques and strategies of older, more established disciplines, educational researchers and evaluators could fashion a new perspective from the grounds of educational practice. "Enhanced by a strong liberal arts background that enables eclectic tailoring of theoretic knowledge to situational needs" (Schubert, 1980, pp. 19-20), such a practically-oriented paradigm would capture the unique and complex nature of educational life.

Need for Naturalistic Studies of Curriculum Implementation

One of the problems in planning for change in social studies education is the lack of understanding of how classroom teachers actually interpret and use innovative ideas embedded in recently developed curriculum materials. For curriculum reformers, "it is one thing to get innovative schemes accepted and launched and quite another to get them implemented successfully" (Boyd, 1979, p. 16).

Fullan and Pomfret (1977, pp. 336-340) list four main reasons why curriculum implementation studies are needed. Focusing on classroom implementation of a planned curricular change is important because little is known about what really happens to an innovative curriculum between the time a decision is made to adopt it and the time when its effects become noticeable in a school or classroom setting. All too often, policy makers assume that the transition from development to implementation is unproblematic, so interest shifts, prematurely, to evaluation of the intended outcomes, regardless of whether the curriculum in question was actually implemented.

A second reason why direct studies of curriculum implementation are needed is that such investigations of the transactions between users and materials in an active teaching-learning situation can contribute to a better understanding of why so many curriculum change efforts in the past seldom became part of institutional practices. Direct observations of the intended curriculum-in-use can help make explicit some of the hidden assumptions about needed organizational changes or expected role changes in the behaviors and relationships of curriculum implementers.

A third reason for engaging in separate curriculum implementation studies is to clarify some of the current misconceptions in the field. For example, implementation frequently is confused with other aspects of the change process. Many studies, claiming to assess curriculum implementation, have focused, instead, on achievements and determinants. Furthermore, some implementation studies have relied on "reported use" as a measure of curriculum implementation. However, such an approach may reflect attitudes of acceptance rather than of the knowledge and skills needed for behavioral implementation.

A fourth reason for implementation studies prior to evaluation is to assist in the interpretation of learning outcomes and to relate them to determinants such as situational factors. "In summary, it is necessary to examine implementation in order to determine if in fact any change has occurred, and in order to understand why change occurs or fails to occur" (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977, p. 340).

In commenting on their recent review of twenty-seven American, Canadian, and British implementation studies, Fullan and Pomfret (1976) conclude that curriculum implementation problems constitute "the major under-developed area in the [curriculum research] field" (p. 73). They go on to say:

> It seems that even a soundly developed and carefully evaluated curriculum often flounders in the everyday world of the classroom. The decision to use a curriculum does not guarantee that actual classroom use will correspond to the planned use. Moreover, attempts at implementation in schools and classrooms frequently exacerbate the very social conditions the curriculum was designed to alleviate. It is now clear that the process of introducing and implementing curricula are [sic] far more critical and complex than previously acknowledged(Fullan & Pomfret, 1976, p. 73).

Although the need for informed resolution of classroom implementation problems appears obvious, it is surprising how few curriculum researchers have attempted to obtain such behavioral data on classrooms (West, 1977, p. 56). Instead, many have preferred large-sample survey research, organizational case studies, laboratory experiments, textbook content analyses, or flow charts, rather than going out into the field to get "their seats of their pants dirty in real research."[1]

Many curriculum research studies have used an input-output model of schooling where resources are fed into the "black box" of the classroom and intended learning outcomes are reduced to quantifiable measures. An alternative expanded-process model of schooling is needed, one which pays more attention to educational experiences (Ryan, 1975; Ryan & Greenfield, 1975). Such a "service" model, according to West (1977, p. 56), would focus on how teachers and students perceive and use resources in the classroom.

Most classroom studies over the past decade have been predominantly social psychological. Although some have contributed to a greater knowledge of instructional practice,[2] most have continued to rely on positivistic experimental and survey traditions, often using high-powered research designs to test inadequately formulated theories (West, 1977, p. 57). Many have used classroom observational checklists in which categories or units:

---

[1] A methodological directive to his students attributed to American sociologist Robert Park, who was a strong advocate of first-hand observation (Williamson et al., 1977).

[2] For a review and critique of recent studies of instructional

> do not preserve the complexities, and interdependencies, and the continuity of behavior and situations. The patterns of simultaneous and sequential variables are not recorded. Instead. . . single variables are selected and defined in advance; then aspects of the behavior or the situation which fit the definitions of these variables are abstracted from the observed constellation; the actual events and their context are not saved for study (Barker & Wright, 1954, p. 199).

Naturalistic studies of everyday life in classrooms can draw on various disciplines: phenomenological and interpretive sociology, critical social theory, symbolic interactionism, or linguistics (Kovaloff, 1975). Such studies, which attempt to discover how classroom members construct and make sense of their experiences, require a degree of researcher participation rather than detached, "objective" observation.

Curriculum project developers and school teachers operate in different work settings and cope with different sets of problems (Olson, 1975). When they speak of their work, they address different audiences and use radically different styles of discourse. Understanding and communicating how classroom teachers implement new curricula and support materials requires naturalistic research procedures and a style of reporting which relaxes "rigorous conceptualizations, perhaps idealizations of practice." Instead of prescriptive notions of what teaching ought to be, there is a need for more researchers and developers to

---

practice, see Travers (1973) and Dunkin and Biddle (1974).

direct their efforts toward a better understanding of the actual practice itself.

For a curriculum developer, classroom observation of the intended curriculum-in-use can be a "sobering experience" (Shipman, 1974). Seldom does an external curriculum developer, usually part of a project team, get a chance to witness first-hand how a teacher and students in a classroom perceive, respond to, and shape an intended curriculum in the context of daily classroom events and situations. The results of such curriculum implementation research can provide valuable insights into why teachers adapt project materials as they do and why parts of the project design may be selectively ignored. Furthermore, such a critique of teacher-student transactions with materials by a developer familiar with the intended curriculum can provide an illuminative evaluation of the experienced curriculum.

Need for Reflexive Accounts of the Research Process

Most research methodology textbooks and courses tend to present an unproblematic image of research as an orderly process or flow of events. Ideally, by following an outlined set of generalized steps, a researcher should progress smoothly from problem and hypothesis formulation through to data collection and analysis and on to the conclusions. In practice, however, there is no "yellow brick road" to research, for the research act involves more than technical competence alone. Seldom is the novice researcher prepared for "the many personal and social confrontations inherent in the research process" (Booth & Crisler, 1976, p. 51).

Like the main characters in The Wizard of Oz (Baum, 1900), graduate students engaging in social research face three main problems. This human side of research, seldom discussed in the literature, has been conceptualized in the following manner by Booth and Crisler (1976):

> The three issues are: 1) The technical competence to do research (the brains so assiduously sought by the Straw Man). Perhaps we feel ourselves dependent on the wizardry of teaching methodologies and statistics just as the Straw Man felt dependent on the Wizard of Oz. 2) The assurance that as social scientists we do not lose sight of the human problems the researcher must surmount (the heart desired by the Tin Woodsman so that he could "feel" for those individuals with whom he interacted). Research activity surely involves separation from the family, competition with colleagues, and the manipulation of subjects. Heart or empathy is a necessary acquisition if human problems are to be dealt with adequately. 3) The ability to overcome procrastination, avoidance, compulsiveness and the like, in order to conduct the research (the courage that the Lion lacked in the land of Oz). Ultimately, we must conquer our personal weaknesses and demonstrate the courage of our intellectual convictions (pp. 51-52).

Another research critic, Mooney (1975), sees a need in educational research to move away from the present "consumer's point of view", based on a popularized concept of what scientists do, toward a more appropriate "producer's point of view", based on what scientists really do. Mooney (pp. 188-190) uses three analogies to illustrate how failure to distinguish between the two perspectives can hinder the development of quality educational research production.

In the first analogy, Mooney contrasts the variety of judgments made by a shopper (consumer) purchasing fruit and the total range of judgments confronting a fruit grower (producer). While awareness of how consumers will judge the product is important, the fruit grower also must attend to a broad range of judgments about various phenomena involved in the long and complicated fruit-growing process. Knowledge of consumer judgments, while necessary, is not sufficient. Yet, Mooney argues, consumers of research often presume that what is characteristic of the research product also is characteristic of the production process.

In his second analogy, a play, Mooney contrasts the frames of reference of a spectator watching a play and of an actor in the play. Both the spectator (consumer) and the actor (producer) may focus on the same bit of action, but their concerns are oriented differently. For the actor, the self is central and pervasive, providing the basic ground as the action moves from person (actor) to product (play). For the spectator, the play is of central focus, with the action moving from the play (product) to the person (spectator). Educational research, says Mooney, also displays this inner and outer drama. The beginning researcher, like the spectator, cannot see the inner drama behind the scenes--how the researcher/actor uses personal experience to put the self in the role. This critical element of role-taking is seldom discussed openly and publicly by experienced researchers or actors. Consequently, the researcher role has to be deduced from a second-hand reading of research textbooks and reports. The resulting mental set, a consumer's view of research, is an inadequate guide for directing novice researchers into sound research.

Mooney's third analogy, map making, contrasts the frame of reference of someone making a map from maps made by others (consumer) and the frame of reference of someone constructing an original map based on direct experience on a personal journey (producer). When making a map from personal experiences, transforming stimuli into map-like products requires directions for action coming from within one's self. Acquaintance with the finished maps of other researchers can help structure direct experience into an intelligible map form, but total reliance on consumer-refined products leaves out the core of the process both researchers and map makers need in order to integrate and to direct their own efforts.

Although idiosyncrasies of person and circumstance are at the heart not the periphery of the scientific enterprise, this important research principle often gets obscured by textbook exhortations to use standardized procedures that have been refined through practice and that are consensually accepted within a research community. In an edited collection of personal accounts of how research was conducted by eight British sociologists,[1] Bell and Newby (1977, pp. 9-29) present three main reasons why idiosyncratic reports of research experiences are needed.

First, there is a practical need for personal accounts of how research actually was done that can be placed alongside the prescriptive "cook-book" version of how research ought to be done. Normative textbooks on observational fieldwork methodology, for example, tend to divorce the personal from the so-called scientifically objective way of collecting and reporting research data.[2] In contrast, quasi-autobiographical research accounts, such as Laura Bohannan's Return to Laughter (1964) and Margaret Mead's Letters from the Field (1977), are more practical because they reveal "at least some of the human costs, passions, mistakes, frailties and gaieties which lie behind the erstwhile antiseptic reports of most social scientists" (Bell & Newby,

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[1] For an analytical monograph on research methods used by British sociologists, see Platt (1976). For similar accounts in American sociology, see Hammond (1964); Vidich et al. (1964).

[2] For examples of fieldwork methodology textbooks, see Lofland (1971); Bogdan (1972); Schatzman & Strauss (1973).

For a more personal approach in anthropological field studies see Bohannan (1964); Mead (1977); Powdermaker (1966); R. Wax (1971).

1977, p. 14). Research mistakes, whether creative or damaging, should be reported so that others may learn from them. So should the stresses and tensions faced by all fieldworkers struggling to survive in a research setting (Clarke, 1975).

A second, philosophical reason for personal disclosure of actual research is the need to encourage methodological pluralism rather than "methodolatrous" ritualism. In his book, Enter Plato, Alvin Gouldner (1967, pp. 9-29) criticizes most positivistic sociologists for their epistemological exclusivism. According to Gouldner, there is a difference between technē (knowing) and epistēmē (awareness). Technē "consists of the lessons of experience of trial and error, of clever skills refined through diligent practice;" epistēmē "embodies awareness of the known, of the knower and of knowing." The tension between these two ways of knowing is at the root of the current controversy between positivists and humanists over proper research methodology.

Like Gouldner, other critics of positivism (Lakatos & Musgrave, 1970; Phillips, 1971; Filmer et al., 1972) have placed more emphasis on awareness as a form of knowledge. But most assaults on positivism have continued to attack technē from epistēmē, overlooking the possibility that both forms of knowledge have "pathological tendencies" (Bell & Newby, 1977, p. 19). Technē tends toward narrow specialization and naive simplicity with intolerance for intellectual ambiguities. Epistēmē tends toward mystification and a preference for capturing and portraying the complexity of life which can obscure reason. Idiosyncratic reflections on doing research which combine intuitive insight and disciplined method can reveal the creative tension or dialectic relationship between the two ways of knowing that are present in actual research practice.

A third reason for reflexive accounts of the research process is the need to display openly the political nature of research. All research takes place within some sort of political context.

> By political context we mean everything from the micropolitics of interpersonal relationships, through the politics of research units, institutions and universities, to those of government departments and finally to the state. All these contexts vitally determine the design, implementation and outcome of sociological research (Bell & Newby, 1977, p. 10).

Normative methodology, whether positivistic or phenomenological, seems to present research as context-free, as if done by non-people in non-places. By writing themselves into their reports and by describing the institutional settings of their research, researchers can contribute to a wider understanding of the political realities of actual research practice. Of course, ethical scrupulousness is necessary to protect the anonymity of research subjects. Although such "confessional colleagueship" among social researchers would be ideal, Lofland (1971) warns that:

> We delude ourselves if we expect very many fieldworkers actually to "tell all" in print. Nonetheless, a wide range of very useful and neutral things can and should be committed to public print, the better to advance the art pp. (132-133).

A case study report of the classroom implementation of a set of curriculum materials, if it is epistemologically in harmony with the reader's everyday life perspective, can aid in the development of what Stake (1978, p. 6) calls "naturalistic generalizations" about experience.

> Naturalistic generalizations develop within a person as a product of experience. They derive from the tacit knowledge of how things are, why they are, how people feel about them, and how these things are likely to be later or in other places with which this person is familiar. They seldom take the form of predictions but lead regularly to expectations. They guide action, in fact they are inseparable from action.

By attending to the idiosyncratic more than to the pervasive, case studies help develop a full and thorough knowledge of the particular which then can be recognized also in new and different contexts. When the aims of inquiry are humanistic understanding and extension of existing experience, then the case study method seems compatible with such goals. Its characteristics include:

> descriptions that are complex, holistic, and involving a myriad of not highly isolate variables; data that are likely to be gathered at least partly by personalistic observation; and a writing style that is informal, perhaps narrative, possibly with verbatim quotation, illustration, and even allusion and metaphor (Stake, 1978, p. 7).

Purposes of the Study

During part of the 1978-79 school year, the writer was involved in the re-development of a multi-media social studies kit intended for use in grade one classrooms in Alberta schools. For approximately four months of the 1979-80 school year, the writer was engaged in a participant-observation study of how the intended social studies curriculum materials were perceived and used by a grade one teacher and her students.

This case study of a curriculum-in-use attempts to present a credible, process-oriented, qualitative description of an ego-involving phenomenological experience in curriculum implementation. The meaning of the curriculum experience is interpreted from the multiple perspectives of the students, the teacher, and the developer. The study attempts to accomplish the following purposes:

1) Provide a retrospective account of the research process as

experienced by the writer during the study.

2) Use illuminative strategies to disclose the meaning of classroom experience as a teacher and her class of students transact with a set of intended social studies curriculum materials.
3) Explore the use of an eclectic blend of techniques from ethnography, aesthetic criticism, and New Journalism to communicate a classroom experience.

Statement of the Problem

There is a need for more phenomenological descriptions of the pressing realities of classroom life in which the social actors (teacher and students) both shape, and are shaped by, their surrounding social milieu. For it is in the classroom crucible that educational theories are tested and the dross is separated from the gold.

The problem in this study simply could not be stated until it was found. When the study first began, there were only "tracks," in Winnie-the-Pooh language. "Tracking" the themes in that "rose garden" of classroom experience was not an easy matter. Not only were there thorns along the way, but there were also dark corners where hidden, unknown fears plagued the tracker. Toward the end of the study, however, a tired, exhausted researcher "saw" something "through a glass darkly" in the transcendental experience of the school greenhouse and of young children singing about being free when all about them Being was constrained by the schooling experience.

Then, the problem in this study became a need to capture the "vivid presence" of lived-in classroom experience and to render its ineffable qualities into an educational portrait that would disclose "the meaning of curriculum as experienced by teachers and students in their everyday life-worlds."

Organization of the Study

There are five chapters in this educational portrait of a classroom curricular experience. Chapter I introduces the study by providing the rationale for using a qualitative approach in studying a curriculum in context and in presenting an idiosyncratic, personal disclosure of the research process as experienced. Chapter II provides a review of the literature that shows the changing "search image" of the researcher as the study unfolded and the researcher moved from "studying the curriculum" to "experiencing the curriculum." Chapter III provides a background for the study by describing the Kanata Kit Project and by outlining the intentions of the Kanata Kit 1 curriculum materials. Chapter IV provides a "thick description" of the perception and use of a set of curriculum materials within a particular classroom setting. Chapter V provides a synthesis and further illumination of the meaning of a classroom experience through the use of a disclosure model.

In the first three chapters of this study, the conventional style of writing and reporting is maintained. In the last two chapters, where the classroom experience is described and analyzed, a first-person style and the "ethnographic present" tense are used to communicate the sense of "being there".

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature related to the problem under investigation and to explore the suitability of the research methodologies employed. The dominant mode of procedure guiding the researcher was based on the notions of reflexive retrospection and of direct observation and narrative rendering of the curricular phenomena as consciously experienced. By "mode of procedure" is meant the pattern of discovery involved in the process of making a contribution to a field of knowledge (Diesing, 1971, p. 1).

During this phase of the discovery pattern, the literature pertaining to the concepts of "studying curriculum" and "experiencing curriculum" is reviewed. Included in the review are some ways of conducting inquiry into a classroom curriculum experience, drawing on techniques and concepts from analogous disciplines such as participant observation, aesthetic criticism, and New Journalism.

Studying Curriculum

Within the educational literature, the word "curriculum" has been used in a variety of ways (Saylor & Alexander, 1974, pp. 2-7; Tanner & Tanner, 1975, pp. 6-49; Zais, 1976, pp. 6-14). In its broadest sense, curriculum can refer to an educational plan for learners, or curriculum can mean a field of study. The lack of conceptual clarity surrounding the term is complicated further by the tendency among educators to confuse programmatic with descriptive definitions of curriculum (Derr, 1977, p. 153).

Curriculum as an Educational Plan

Most definitions of curriculum as an educational plan are somewhat similar, varying only in their relative emphasis on process or product, in their temporal distinction between curriculum and instruction, and in their use of prescriptive or descriptive language (Posner, 1972, pp. 2-5). Typically, these definitions of curriculum, which distinguish between what is intended and what is actualized, view the curriculum as:

> a set of intentions about opportunities for engagement of persons-to-be-educated with other persons and with things (all bearers of information, processes, techniques, and values) in certain arrangements of time and space (Lewis & Miel, 1972, p. 27).

However, many educators and lay people alike, when talking about curriculum, tend to start with a narrower meaning. The word "curriculum" comes from the Latin root currere, which means "running a racecourse." The traditional notion of curriculum as "a racecourse of subject matters to be mastered" (Zais, 1976, pp. 6-7) is still found in the everyday language of curriculum. Most curricularists, when referring to a set of subjects or courses offered, required, or recommended, prefer to use the term "program of studies." Nevertheless, the idea of curriculum as standardized course content, commonly outlined in a written document (Beauchamp, 1968), continues to persist.

Early writings in curriculum began to extend the concept of curriculum from organized subject matter to include planned learning experiences (Bobbitt, 1918; Caswell & Campbell, 1935). Later curriculum publications continued this trend toward defining curriculum as planned learning experiences for students. For example:

> The commonly-accepted definition of the curriculum has changed from content of courses of study and lists of subjects and courses to all experiences which are offered to learners under the auspices or direction of the school (Doll, 1964, p. 15).
>
> Curriculum is the planned composite effort of any school to guide pupil learning toward predetermined learning outcomes (Inlow, 1966, p. 7).
>
> Curriculum is 'all the planned experiences provided by the school to assist the pupils in attaining the designated learning outcomes to the best of their abilities' (Neagley & Evans, 1967, p. 2).

But this wider conception of curriculum as all the planned learning experiences under the aegis of the school has generated considerable debate within the curriculum field. Some critics have found this definition too broad to be functional. Others have criticized it for being too narrow because it excludes aspects of the unplanned or "hidden" curriculum. Still others prefer the term "activity" rather than "experience" when referring to something planned or organized in advance for someone else (Pinar, 1976, p. 18).

Most attempts to clarify the concept of curriculum have focused on two major issues: the distinction between ends and means, and the distinction between intentions (curriculum) and transactions (instruction). Ledgerwood (1975, pp. 3-5) shows these distinctions in quadratic form, using dotted axial lines to indicate that the two sets of distinctions (ends-means on the vertical axis, intent-actions on the horizontal axis) are not always clear and/or acceptable.

Some curricular theorists, like Mauritz Johnson, favor a sharp division between ends and means in curriculum. Johnson (1967, p. 130) defines curriculum as "a structured series of intended learning outcomes." His anticipatory view of curriculum limits curriculum to a statement of intended ends (objectives) and places the means of achieving the intended ends under the rubric of instruction. All other planning concerning content, activities, and evaluation procedures, Johnson argues, becomes part of the instructional plan, not of curriculum. Transactions within a live classroom situation are seen as the implementation of an instructional plan (Johnson, 1970-71, p. 25).

Many curricularists, however, find Johnson's approach impractical in real curriculum planning situations where it is difficult to separate intended outcomes from the means used to achieve them. A less restrictive but still anticipatory view of curriculum has been proposed by James Macdonald (1968, p. 39) who defines curriculum as "a plan and/or organizational pattern for influence in appropriate directions." In Macdonald's definition, "appropriate directions" can be interpreted to mean the same as Johnson's "intended learning outcomes." However, Macdonald's concept of curriculum as an educational plan seems broader than Johnson's because the former implies that, in addition to intended learning outcomes, curriculum can contain other elements such as content and activities. Other curricularists who share this broader notion of curriculum as an educational plan or proposal include Beauchamp (1968), Huebner (1970), and Saylor and Alexander (1974).

Ledgerwood (1975, p. 5) resolves the ends-means split in curriculum planning by defining the curriculum as "the intended ends and means which guide teaching and learning," and instruction as "the operationalizing of intended ends and means of teaching and learning." However, like others participating in the ends-means, curriculum-instruction debate, Ledgerwood still retains the criterion of action or classroom implementation as the basis for distinguishing curriculum and instruction. What is intended constitutes the curriculum; intentions acted upon or operationalized belong to the realm of instruction.

On the other hand, Lawrence Stenhouse offers another definition of curriculum that blurs the boundary between curriculum and instruction. Stenhouse (1975, pp. 4-5) sees curriculum as an educational plan or proposal "open to critical scrutiny and capable of effective translation into practice." For Stenhouse, a curriculum is like a cooking recipe. First, it is an imagined possibility; next, it becomes the subject of limited experimentation or trial; and, then, having been grounded in practice, and, within limits, varied according to taste, it is offered publicly. This fusion of curriculum and instruction is reflected in Stenhouse's official definition of curriculum:

> A curriculum is that means by which the experience of attempting to put an educational proposal into practice is made publicly available. It involves both content and method, and in its widest application takes account of the problem of implementation in the institutions of the educational system (Stenhouse, 1975, p. 5).

When a curriculum becomes part of everyday classroom experience, the boundary between curriculum and instruction disappears. The search for a correct anticipatory concept of curriculum seems less important than dealing with "a functioning, live, or operative curriculum" (Zais, 1976, p. 11). Similarly, Taylor and Tye (1975) stress the significance of the "operational curriculum":

> The saying: 'Man proposes, God disposes' has its analogue when one comes to consider how the curriculum is dealt with in schools and classrooms, how what is prescribed as the content of teaching is handled by teachers, given reality in the classroom and understood by pupils. Curriculum proposals, whether in teachers' guides or plans for courses of study, suggest what should be taught, they do not determine what is taught, let alone what is learned. What should be taught has to make accommodation with many factors. With the varying competence of teachers, the interests of pupils, the physical and psychological conditions under which learning has to take place, not

> to mention the ideology subsumed within the curricular proposals and implicit in the methods of teaching and learning adopted. . . . What results is termed the "operational curriculum" (Taylor & Tye, 1975, p. 216).

One of the most difficult tasks facing the staff of the Study of Schooling, a descriptive research project which investigated aspects of schooling including curriculum, was the need to define at the outset what curriculum is (Benham, n.d., pp. 6-12). Based on the realization that what is perceived as curriculum depends on who is doing the looking and whom you ask, the research team identified five fundamental perspectives from which curriculum may be viewed: ideal, formal, instuctional, operational, and experiential (p. 6). These five data sources were placed on a grid, along with nine "commonplaces" of elements of curriculum: goals and objectives, materials, content, learning activities, strategies, evaluation, grouping, time, and space. Together, these perspectives and elements formed a conceptual framework for formulating research questions about curriculum.

From the perspective of curriculum specialists or experts, the "ideal" curriculum--what curriculum ought to be--embodies highly desirable principles and practices derived from research and theorizing. The "formal" or official curriculum, usually in a written document, expresses the expectations of persons or groups in authority, such as legislatures, departments of education, and school district officials, as well as the embedded interests of society. What the teacher perceives or believes is being offered to the students constitutes the "instructional" curriculum, which passes through value screens, professional competencies, teacher interests, and teacher assessments of students' needs, interests, abilities, and expectations. However, because a gap can exist between teacher perceptions of what is being done and what is really taking place, classroom observers can perceive and record the "operational" curriculum; that is, what is transpiring in the classroom. Finally, student responses, intended and unintended, to curricula intended and not intended, represent the "experienced" curriculum that is personal and unique to each student.

If a curriculum study is to examine more than the planned experiences of students, then the ends-means, curriculum-instruction distinction becomes too artificial to be useful or meaningful. Not all schooling experiences are the consequences of intended curriculum activities. Studies of classroom life (Dreeben, 1968; Jackson, 1968) indicate that what is learned in schools is not limited to what is consciously taught. Conversely, planned learning activities do not always result in the intended learning outcomes. A growing literature on the hidden curriculum has drawn attention to the contrast between the curriculum as "planned for" and the curriculum as "experienced by" teachers and students.

Until recently, most inquiry into the hidden aspects of schooling meant probing into the unanticipated consequences of the administrative structuring of schools. However, within the broader context of manifest and latent functions of schooling, curriculum inquiry demands a closer look at the taken-for-granted assumptions of curriculum designers and developers about what constitutes educationally significant social content and what is appropriate teacher-learner classroom interaction. In addition to these "typifications" of curricular content and process, an inquiry into a lived-in curriculum experience in a particular classroom situation would have to include the teacher's interpretations of the developer's intentions, as well as the students' perceptions and understandings (as mediated by the classroom teacher) of the natural and social phenomena embedded in curriculum materials (Schoeneberger 1981).

Furthermore, other hidden aspects of the curriculum-in-use, such as student-invented strategies and student-structured systems for coping with classroom realities, can affect the quality of curriculum experiences in all settings from kindergarten to university (Snyder, 1970, pp. iii-xii). Consequently, social evaluation of the curriculum experience must take account of the many "determinations and contradictions" that are inherent in the production of social outcomes in schools (Apple, 1980).

In this study, the concept of curriculum encompasses both a written plan intended to guide instruction and "the proposals and intentions operated upon in practice, in programmes of study and in learning experiences transacted in schools and classrooms" (Taylor & Tye, 1975, p. 15). The content and activities conceptualized in tangible print and audio-visual materials and presented as planned experiences for students have been called "the intended curriculum". The transactions that a teacher and a class of students have with the proposed content and activities in terms of their perceptions, interpretations, and meaning-structures have been called "the experienced curriculum".

Curriculum as a Field of Study

In the second broad conception of curriculum, the term "curriculum" has been used to refer to a specialized field of study within education which includes a number of related concepts and processes defining its subject matter (substantive structure) and its characteristic methodologies (syntactical structure). However, because of its relative infancy, its complexity, and its reliance on a wide range of theories and methods from other disciplines, there is no well-developed, logically coherent "theory of curriculum" at the present time (Zais, 1976, p. 93).

Curriculum as a field of study can be defined in terms of the phenomena and problems of field. According to Decker Walker (1973):

> The phenomena of curriculum include all those activities and enterprises in which curricula are planned, created, adopted, presented, experienced, criticized, attacked, defended, and evaluated, as well as the objects which may be part of a curriculum, such as textbooks, apparatus and equipment, schedules, teachers' guides, and so on.
>
> In addition to these actual objects, events, and process, the phenomena of curricula can be. . . interpreted to include the plans, intentions, hopes, fears, dreams, and the like of agents such as teachers, students, and curriculum developers or policy-makers (Walker, 1973, p. 59).

Curriculum studies span both views of curriculum: curriculum as something intended and curriculum as something actualized. Since curriculum realities seldom conform to curriculum intentions, "the central problem of curriculum study," according to Stenhouse (1975, p. 3), "is the gap between our ideas and aspirations and our attempts to actualize them." Approaching the problem from a fidelity perspective, the curriculum researcher often takes as given the intended curriculum and proceeds to determine how closely the curriculum-in-use matches the intentions. For example, the original purpose of the curriculum substudy that formed part of the major Study of Schooling research project was to document the areas of agreement and areas of discrepancy among the various perspectives (Klein et al., 1975). However, as the study progressed, the initial focus on "tracing the slippage" shifted toward a simpler focus on the perspectives themselves. Although the magnitude of the proposed task forced a modification of the research objectives, failure by the team members to arrive at a consensual agreement on the elusive concept of the "ideal" curriculum also was a contributing factor (Benham, n.d., pp. 8-9).

Current arguments about the proper goals, content, and organization of curriculum, manifested in professional and lay debates about educational issues, can be traced to the basic conflict in priorities concerning the persistent questions in the field: What can and should be taught to whom, when, and how? Diverse alternative prescriptions reflect the underlying assumptions of the different orientations toward curriculum (Eisner & Vallance, 1974). Eisner and Vallance, after an extensive review of the literature, identified five "conflicting conceptions of curriculum": the cognitive-processes approach, curriculum as technology; self-actualization, or curriculum as consummatory experiences; curriculum for social reconstruction-relevance; and academic rationalism.

Curricularists embracing the cognitive-processes approach view their main task as the identification of salient intellectual skills and the provision of the necessary setting and structure for their development. Education, as an enabling mechanism for developing a "technology of the mind," should have as its primary concern the development and refinement of cognitive skills that are generalizable outside the context of schooling. Focusing on the "how" rather than the "what" of curriculum, process-oriented curricularists view the learner as an interactive, adaptive element in an open-ended, growth-directed system. Historically rooted in the tradition of faculty psychology, the current emphases on cognitive processes in curriculum have received added impetus from recent research into thinking and learning processes in developmental psychology.

Like the cognitive-processes approach, curriculum as technology also focuses on process, not content. However, this orientation to curriculum is less interested in the processes of knowing or learning, and more concerned with developing a technology for facilitating learning and for communicating knowledge. Valuing efficiency in the packaging and presenting of instructional materials, most curriculum technologists speak the self-confident language of production. They use words like "input-output," "needs assessment," "entry behavior," "supply demand," "feedback loops," "stimulus and reinforcement," and "accountability," a language borrowed from industrial and military spheres and from systems analysis. Those favoring a technological approach to curriculum assume that learning occurs in systematic and predictable ways which can be accelerated or made more efficient through a careful selection and sequential ordering of materials for the learner.

In contrast, self-actualization or curriculum as consummatory experiences focuses emphatically on content (primarily present experience) as a liberating force for the individual learner. Reformist in a personalized sense, this curriculum approach stresses the process of personal growth and autonomy and uses a passionate, integrative language borrowed from humanism, existentialism, and existential psychology. Schooling should be an integrative, synthesizing force that provides learners with the content and personal skills needed for continuing self-discovery and growth.

In the social reconstruction-relevance orientation to curriculum, societal rather than individual needs are stressed, with major emphasis on social reform and social responsibility. Social reconstructionism, an historical thread running through much of Western educational reform, views the school as a primary agent for social change. However, this approach, which considers individual development and the social context as interactional forces, incorporates two distinct strands: an "adaptive" and a "reformist" interpretation of social relevance. The survival-oriented bias of the "adaptive" branch demands that curriculum equip the individual with the skills and knowledge needed to function effectively in a rapidly changing, unstable world. The "reformist" branch, less conservative than the adaptivist group, advocates a curriculum that not only helps individuals cope with change, but also educates them to intervene actively in shaping the direction of change.

Advocates of academic rationalism, enjoying a recent resurgence in status with the "back-to-the-basics" movement that would remove all "frills" from the curriculum, see cultural transmission as the legitimate function of schooling. According to earlier versions of this tradition-bound approach, curriculum should emphasize the classic disciplines so that the young can acquire the tools needed to participate fully in the Western cultural heritage. Access to the greatest ideas and products of Western civilization would provide the concepts and criteria needed for appreciating and cultivating precise, powerful, and universally significant thought. However, during the curricular reforms of the 1960s, some proponents of the disciplines-centred curriculum focused on the logical and structural bases for knowledge, introducing a concern for process into what had been a content-orientation to curriculum.

In presenting their five curriculum orientation schema for simplifying and organizing the complexity of the field, Eisner and Vallance

(1974) urge curriculum workers to pay more attention to the "conceptual underpinnings" and the "goals and assumptions" implicit in any given curricular proposal. According to Eisner and Vallance:

> It is important that educators recognize the larger philosophical differences that their conflicts so systematically reflect. It would seem that a sensitivity to intellectual history, particularly as this history reflects changing conceptualizations of the possibilities and limitations of learning, is an essential ingredient in curriculum analyses (Eisner & Vallance, 1974, p. 17).

Similarly, Michael Apple, a leading critical social theorist, has drawn attention to the hidden cognitive interests underlying curriculum work. Apple (1975) criticizes educators, especially those in curriculum, for adopting an outmoded positivistic stance that prohibits self-reflection and a scientific mode of rationality that contributes to a manipulative ethos of schooling. In order to design more humane educational environments, Apple argues that educators must seek new forms of rationality and curriculum researchers must explore alternative thought modes.

In a conceptual mapping of the state of the curriculum field as a necessary first step toward creating new research possibilities, William Pinar (1978a, pp. 5-12) discriminates among three major groups of curricularists and describes their views on the relationship between theory and practice in curriculum. Pinar agrees with Walker (1977) that comprehension of curricular realities is necessary before improvement can take place. However, unlike Walker, Pinar does not confine improvement of practice to the application of empirically-verified theory. In tracing the recent history of the field, Pinar identifies three distinct groups of curricularists: the traditionalists, the conceptual-empiricists, and the reconceptualists (Pinar, 1978b).

The traditionalists have tended to value "practical" service to schools above theorizing or research. Most, like Tyler, Taba, Saylor, Alexander, and the Tanners, have directed their efforts toward formulating abstract principles as guides to curriculum practice. According to Pinar (1978a, pp. 5-6), such "instrumentality" has contributed to the atheoretical and ahistorical development of the field.

During the curricular reforms of the 1960s, traditionalists were by-passed in the field with the emergence of the conceptual-empiricists. Trained almost exclusively in mainstream social science theory and methods, this group presumed that a scientific knowledge of human behavior in curriculum not only was possible and desirable, but also could be achieved with "increasingly refined methodologies and sustained 'cumulative' research" (Pinar, 1978a, p. 6). To prevent further erosion of their deteriorating status in curriculum, traditionalists, too, became involved in empirical theory-building efforts.

In the early 1970s, about the time Schwab was calling the curriculum field "moribund" because of its obsession with theory over practice, and Jerome Bruner (1971) was renouncing his former advocacy of the "structure of the disciplines," a third group of curricularists was emerging. This small group, which became known as the reconceptualists, questioned the epistemological mono-dimensionality of mainstream conceptual-empiricist research and the atheoretical stance of most of the traditionalists (Pinar, 1978a, pp. 5-6). Unlike the guiding function of traditionalist theorizing or the scientific function of conceptual-empiricist theorizing, according to James Macdonald, a leading member of the reconceptualists, this group of curriculum theorists held a different view of the role of theory development in curriculum.

> A third group of individuals look upon the task of theorizing as a creative intellectual task which they maintain should be neither used as a basis for prescription or an empirically testable set of relationships. The purpose of these persons is to develop and criticize conceptual schema in the hope that new ways of talking about curriculum, which may in the future be far more fruitful than present orientations, will be forthcoming. At the present time, they would maintain that a much more playful, free-floating process is called for by the state of the art (Macdonald, 1975, p. 6).

Pinar, another leading reconceptualist, has done much to help publicize the idea of reconceptualization in curriculum.[1] Realizing the aspirations of such an emancipatory discipline of curriculum requires a comprehensive critique of the field as it is and a repudiation of its "pseudo-practical, technical modes of understanding and action" (Pinar, 1978a, p. 9). In their book, Toward a Poor Curriculum (1976), Pinar and Grumet attempt to develop a method of curriculum inquiry, currere, which is capable of examining the "inside" reality of one's immediate existential experience of curriculum. Drawing on precedents from fields outside education, such as Marxism, existentialism, psychoanalytic theory, phenomenology, and imaginative literature, Pinar (1978a, pp. 9-10) argues that:

> Fundamental to our view is the sense that curriculum must emancipate the researcher if it is to authentically offer such a possibility to others. We have devised a method by means of which the researcher can examine his own "limit situations" in Freire's sense, his own participation in frozen social and psychological structures, and his complicity in the arrest of intellectual development characteristic of American schooling. Essential to our formulation is acknowledgement

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[1] For examples of reconceptualist writing, see Pinar (1974), Pinar (1975), Pinar and Grumet (1976), and Macdonald and Zaret (1975). Increased exposure of such writing is also found in a new journal, The Journal of Curriculum Theorizing, edited by William Pinar and Janet Miller.

> of the false quality of "self" and "world;" human being is irrevocably "being-in-the-world." The world is both cause and consequence of the conditioned and the chosen in human life. Our aspiration is to gain increasing access to that which is conditioned, allow it to surface, to be released or permitted to remain (in either case in consciousness), hence open to the conscious intentions of the learner.

In a radical departure from traditional Freudian views that repression is the price paid for intellectual achievement, Pinar counters with the argument that intellectual movement and advance demand a fluidity of mind and being. For individuals, this intellectual movement takes place in their dialectical relation to others, physically present, or through interaction with their ideas in print or in artifacts. In the context of individual life history, the occurrence of this dialectical intellectual movement is educational experience (Pinar, 1978a, p. 10).

In an initial attempt to clarify the meaning of the term "reconceptualization" in curriculum, Pinar (1978b) divided reconceptualist writing and theorizing into a critical and a postcritical stage. As examples of critical reconceptualist writing, Pinar grouped together the ideology and social critique of existing curricula by Michael Apple, the historical critique of the scientific development of curriculum by Herbart Kliebard, the aesthetic, philosophical critique of curriculum as technology by Dwayne Heubner, and the psychoanalytical critique of the schooling experience by Pinar himself (Van Manen, 1978b, p. 367). The postcritical stage, as loosely defined by Pinar (1975, p. 209), "tends to move past the critical function. . . . to an affirmative new conceptual order." According to Pinar, postcritical reconceptualist curriculum authors drew on noncurriculum sources such as Habermas, Hamden-Turner, Marcuse, Laing, Sartre, and others in the humanities. However, in his more recent writing, Pinar appears to have dropped the distinction between critical and postcritical reconceptualization, now concluding that all reconceptualists in curriculum turn to sources in continental and emerging forms of social inquiry (Van Manen, 1978b, p. 368).

Dissatisfied with the dominant framework for approaching and interpreting the field of curriculum, reconceptualists such as Macdonald, Huebner, Pinar, and others have borrowed concepts and ideas from intellectual traditions fundamentally different from the behaviorism and empiricism characteristic of the North American research paradigm. Instead of the traditional means-ends, technological-production model of curriculum in current practice, these theorists draw on modes of inquiry adopted from continental proponents of hermeneutics, phenomenology, and critical theory, along with other interpretive methods such as ethnomethodology, phenomenological sociology, and symbolic interactionism.

Paul Klohr (1976) has summarized the characteristic features of the reconceptualist approach to curriculum as follows:

> Reconceptualist curriculum theorists: 1) take a holistic, organic view of man and his relation to nature; 2) make the individual the chief agent in the construction of knowledge--a culture creator as well as a culture bearer; 3) draw heavily on their own experiential bases as methods; 4) recognize the preconscious realms of experience as major resources; 5) root their theorizing in existential philosophy, phenomenology, and radical psychoanalysis, and also draw on humanistic reconceptualizations of such cognate fields as sociology, anthropology, and political science; 6) make personal liberty and the attainment of higher levels of consciousness central values in the curriculum process; 7) celebrate diversity and pluralism as social ends and in the proposals projected to move towards those ends; 8) support a reconceptualization of

> political-social operations; and 9) generate new language forms--metaphors, for example--to translate new meanings (Klohr, 1976, p. 355).

In social studies education, recent calls for "a different conception of research from the classical, statistical approach" (Shaver & Larkins, 1973, p. 1254) have elicited metatheoretical critiques of neglected areas of research and suggestions for alternative research approaches in social education (Van Manen, 1975). These and other search efforts in recent years represent what Aoki (1979) calls "bell-weather signs" that the "epistemological limit-situation" which encapsulates curriculum researchers is now being questioned.

Using Jurgen Habermas' (1972) tri-paradigmatic framework, Aoki (1979, pp. 6-14) discusses three possible inquiry approaches in curriculum: empirical-analytic, situational-interpretative, and critically-reflective. The empirical-analytic mode, commonly identified with science, seeks explanatory and technical knowledge. The situational-interpretative mode, called "phenomenological description," seeks knowledge in terms of the meanings people give to situations. The critically-reflective mode, just emerging in the research literature, seeks normative knowledge that reveals tacit, hidden assumptions and initiates a process of transformation and liberation.

The empirical-analytic mode of inquiry, dominant in North American research, is commonly identified with the prestigious "scientific method." According to Habermas, the root activity of this mode of research is intellectual or technical work, a productive process aimed toward predictive knowledge and control of objects in the world. The technical cognitive interest embedded in this orientation is manifested in the use of hypothetico-deductive connections of propositions and law-like hypotheses which can lead to nomological knowledge with the explanatory power to enhance efficiency, certainty, and predictability.

In the empirical-analytic orientation, a detached researcher approaches the world indirectly through the mediation of conceptual constructs, using guided observation, as in the exemplary experimental paradigm, to distance the researcher's subjectivity from the objectified world. Typically, an empirical-analytic researcher states the research problem in advance and describes the appropriate research methodology, establishing from the outset limits on what can be seen in the research situation. Collected data are then transformed into second-order descriptions according to predetermined theoretical constructs. However, curriculum researchers operating in this mode should be aware of the reductionism inherent in such second-order generalizations and idealizations that are once-removed from the first-order lived experiences of pedagogic situations.

The second mode of curriculum inquiry, the situational-interpretative, seeks a "deep" understanding of the personal meanings people give to things, people, and events in an experienced situation. Just as intellectual or technical work in the natural world is the root activity in the empirical-analytic mode, communication in the social world is the main human activity of concern in the situational-interpretative mode. However, unlike the objectified subject-object relationship in the former research orientation, in the latter framework reality is intersubjectively constituted in a subject-subject relationship in the social world.

Gaining insights into lived experiential life-worlds of human beings is the research motive of situational-interpretative researchers who seek to clarify, authenticate, or bring to full awareness the deep structures of meaning in social situations; that is, how human beings meaningfully experience and intellectually and affectively appropriate the world. Such understanding requires the researcher to enter into intersubjective dialogue with the people in the research situation. Within the situational-interpretative mode, investigation and analysis of taken-for-granted reality (the sense-making practices of everyday life) are the research concerns of ethnomethodologists. The interpretation of texts and text analogues (social happenings) is the research work of hermeneutics. Such phenomenological descriptions of first-order experiences are particularly relevant to studies of the curriculum-in-use, or of curriculum development and/or evaluation _in situ_.

The third major form of curriculum inquiry, the critically-reflective mode, seeks to uncover or make explicit the tacit and hidden conditioning forces at the societal, institutional, or personal level. Through _reflection_ upon the world, the root activity of the critical orientation, a human being as a liberated social actor can transform the world. Critical reflection upon the repressive and dehumanizing aspects of everyday life can lead to enlightened insight and a decision to act strategically to change personal and/or social conditions.

Unlike the generation of second-order, nomological descriptions of social phenomena by empirical-analytic researchers, or of first-order phenomenological descriptions of immediate interpretations of experience by situational-interpretative researchers, critically-reflective researchers question both first- and second-order descriptions of curricular phenomena by reflecting upon the underlying bases of seemingly "natural" assumptions and intentions. In critical research, researchers and research subjects participate in an open dialogue, engaging in mutually reflective activity as part of an ongoing dialectical and transformative process. By "bracketing" the natural attitude of everyday life, such critical reflection can focus on the rationalizations at the personal level, or on ideologies at the societal level. In curriculum research, bi-focal attention to the knowledge and normative structures of life experiences goes past mere phenomenological description to critical reflection. Such inquiry in curriculum could use frameworks from the sociology of knowledge, literary criticism, critical social theory, praxiology, psychoanalysis, or phenomenological pedagogy.

However, although these alternative approaches to curriculum inquiry seem promising, such paradigmatic shifts in curriculum research and theorizing involve more than lens changing or fence sitting, sometimes in one paradigm, sometimes in another (Van Manen, 1978b). Furthermore, such paradigmatic shifts can appear threatening to traditional curriculum researchers and theorists (Schubert, 1980).

For example, curriculum researchers committed to the phenomenological paradigm will move from a behavioral focus on the "outer" aspects of curriculum (the measurable behaviors, the causal and objectifiable factors) to a phenomenological emphasis on the "inner" components of curriculum (the experiential, "lived," existential meaning-structures of the teaching-learning process). However, use of the phenomenological framework demands familiarity with the writings of Husserl, Heidegger, Kierkegaard, Merleau-Ponty, Sartre, Strasser, Schutz, and others (Van Manen, 1978b, p. 370).

On the other hand, curriculum researchers who adopt a critically-reflective approach should be prepared to make a political-intellectual commitment that reflects an active Marxist political-philosophical orientation (Van Manen, 1978b, p. 370). In other words, instead of formulating practical educational problems and solutions based on a given set of societal conditions that are both repressive and alienating, critical theorists in curriculum should direct their efforts toward liberating students and teachers from authoritarianism and alienating curriculum structures. Use of the critical paradigm requires familiarity with the writings of Ivan Illich, Paulo Freire, Michael Young, Samuel Bowles, Herbert Gintis, and others (Van Manen, 1978b, p. 371).

Criticism of these attempts to formulate alternative modes of inquiry in curriculum has come from those grounded in traditional approaches to research. For example, Pinar's reconceptualist attempt to develop an emancipatory mode of curriculum inquiry has been criticized by Tanner and Tanner (1979) as "emancipation from research." Likewise, the use of ethnographic techniques in curriculum research has been designated derogatorily as "blitzkrieg" ethnography (Rist, 1980).

Nevertheless, Schubert's (1980) plea for the "recalibration" of curriculum inquiry toward practice takes a positive stance toward recent innovative approaches to curriculum research and evaluation. Schubert argues that Pinar and Grumet's (1976) reconceptualist emphasis on the discovery of personal meaning in curriculum through the use of psychoanalytic and introspective strategies constitutes what Schwab has called "practical" research. So is Van Manen's (1979) suggestion that representations of subjective student life-worlds can be revealed through a study of their writing. Similarly, retrospective reflection can result in insights into past experiences. According to Habermas (Bernstein, 1976, p. 216), "The practical consequences of self-reflection are changes in attitudes which result from insight into causalities in the past." Through critical reflection on present practices curriculum researchers also can be liberated from uncritical reliance on conventional research traditions that ignore or downplay the importance of the perspectives of research subjects (Pinar, 1978a, p. 10).

Similarly, qualitative and illuminative approaches in curriculum evaluation present alternatives to the current assumptions underlying most evaluation activities in curriculum. Illuminative evaluation strategies using portrayal of persons, investigative reporting, and narrative rendering of events and settings can help clarify or make known more vividly practical teaching-learning situations (Schubert, 1980, p. 21). An advocate of case study methods that show integrated portrayals of programs in action, Barry MacDonald (n.d., p. 51) considers "the experiences of the programme participants as the central focus of investigation." Portrayal evaluation involves capturing, preserving, and illuminating the complexity and fluidity of educational activity. Because conventional evaluation methodology cannot provide the necessary linguistic skills and devices, MacDonald suggests that portrayal evaluators borrow the literary techniques developed by New Journalists. Similarly, curriculum critics, by taking cues from aesthetic criticism, can provide prospective users with a critical description of the experiential qualities of a set of curriculum materials (Vallance, 1977, p. 102).

In this study, the writer, trained in the traditional research paradigm, felt discomfited with the established or dominant curriculum inquiry framework. Consequently, she adopted a reconceptualist view of curriculum research, combining a retrospective account of her own personal experience as a developer on a social studies curriculum development project with an illuminative portrayal of how the resulting social studies materials were experienced by a teacher and a class of students. Thus, her research stance reflects both a phenomenological and a critical approach to curricular phenomena as consciously experienced.

Curriculum Implementation

In the curriculum literature dealing with change and innovation, a common definition of "innovation" is:

> an idea, practice or object perceived as new by an individual. It matters little, so far as human behavior is concerned, whether or not the idea is 'objectively' new as measured by the lapse of time since its first use or discovery. It is the perceived or subjective newness of the idea for the individual that determines his reactions to it. If the idea seems new to the individual, it is an innovation (Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971,p. 19).

In our change-oriented culture, this bias in favor of change over stability has led to the assumption that if something is perceived as new, it will be adopted automatically and then used fully. However, in education as in life, innovative ideas often are projected with great enthusiasm and optimism, yet seldom do they arrive intact at their intended destination, and then, only a few survive to become permanently established.

Despite large amounts of capital invested in the development of a variety of new curricula and materials during the 1960s and 1970s period of curricular reform, recent studies have shown that these change efforts have had only minimal impact on the daily practices and routines of the average classroom. For example, after observing 158 classrooms in 67 schools, the authors of Behind the Classroom Door (1970) concluded:

> Some of the highly recommended and publicized innovations of the past decade or so were dimly conceived and, at best, partially implemented in the schools claiming them. The novel features seemed to be blunted in the efforts to twist the innovation into familiar conceptual frames or established patterns of schooling (Goodlad et al., 1970, p. 72).

These and other disappointing results of recent attempts to change educational practice underline the apparent inability of curriculum developers to convey their intentions to potential users (Connelly, 1972, p. 163). However, the whole issue of curriculum implementation is far more complicated than the technical problem of devising effective "delivery systems" for diffusing and disseminating the products of centrally-developed innovative curricula.

To begin with, the field of curriculum implementation has been characterized by conceptual confusion and by methodological controversy. No comprehensive or coherent theory of curriculum implementation exists. Most of those involved in the curriculum change enterprise would admit that although much is known about planning, developing, and trial testing of new curricular schemes, "no one has yet come up with a sensible way of weaving such schemes into the daily fabric of classroom life" (Becher & Maclure, 1978, p. 109).

A first step in this direction involves clarification of the concept of implementation. According to Fullan and Pomfret (1977, p. 336), "implementation is not simply an extension of planning and adoption processes. It is a phenomenon in its own right." Adoption is not synonymous with implementation, "the actual use of an innovation or what an innovation consists of in practice" (p. 336). This semantic distinction between the two terms, "adoption" and "implementation", is particularly significant where adoption decisions are the legal responsibility of state/provincial departments of education, yet the ultimate decision as to implementation (actual use) rests with individual users.

After an extensive literature search and an eventual selection of twenty-seven American, Canadian, and British studies of implementation for in-depth review and analysis,[1] Fullan and Pomfret (1977) found that implementation studies dealing explicitly with measurement of implementation could be grouped under two main orientations. The aim of the predominant implementation perspective, referred to as the "fidelity" of the implementation, "is to determine the degree of implementation of an innovation in terms of the extent to which actual use of the innovation corresponds to intended or planned use" (p. 341). The second major orientation, which has been called "mutual adaptation" (Berman & Pauly, 1975), is aimed at "analyzing the complexities of the change process vis-a-vis how innovations become developed/changed etc. during the process of implementation" (p. 341).

Fidelity perspective. Implementation studies showing a fidelity perspective have focused either on organizational change (Gross et al., 1971; Lukas & Wohlleb, 1973; Naumann-Etienne, 1974; and others), or on specific curriculum innovations (Ashley & Butts, 1970; Cole, 1971; Crowther, 1972; Downey et al., 1975; Evans & Scheffler, 1974; Hall & Loucks, 1976; Hess & Buckholdt, 1974; Leinhardt, 1973, 1974). Those focusing on organizational change have suggested ways of conceptualizing and measuring the organizational aspects of change. They have shown clearly that the same innovation can be implemented in varying degrees and in a number of ways by different individuals and organizations, with some innovative components more effectively implemented than others.

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[1] Other recent attempts to conceptualize and analyze studies of implementation include: Berman & McLaughlin (1976); Hargrove (1975); Sikorski et al. (1976); and Williams & Elmore (1976).

Those studies assessing the degree of implementation of specific innovative curricula have used a variety of methods: direct classroom observation; direct observation combined with questionnaire; content analyses of key documents, along with questionnaire-surveys of teachers, parents, and students; teacher questionnaires; and focused interviews. In these studies, research concerns have included: conceptualization of the essential characteristics of the innovation; differentiation of organizational and instructional changes required by the innovation; and the determination of the relation of organizational and non-organizational components of the innovation to the degree of implementation.

Process perspective. Implementation studies displaying a "mutual adaptation" or process perspective have generally used a more open-ended approach to assess implementation of less clearly specified curricular innovations. Studies by Berman and McLaughlin (1976), Berman and Pauly (1975), Elliott and Adelman (1974), and Shipman (1974) have focused on the process of implementation rather than on the degree or fidelity of implementation.

Shipman's (1974) analysis of the Keele Integrated Studies Project in the United Kingdom is a participant-observation case study that "illustrates the dilemma of defining and measuring implementation characteristics, but technically speaking, his measure of implementation is weak" (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977, p. 357). Shipman (1974) maintained that the broad framework of the project permitted a variety of changes to occur whose "catalytic effects" may have been more significant than the more limited impact of specific project objectives (p. 126). His measure of implementation consisted of two components: contractual success (fulfillment by a school of a 'contract' to try out integrated studies), and curriculum impact (extent of change as measured on four three-point scales). However, constructs such as "the amount of trial material in use," "developments arising from the trial in integrated studies," "developments in related fields of the humanities," and "the persistence of team teaching required by the innovation" were crude measures of implementation (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977, p. 358). The empirical-analytic bias of Fullan and Pomfret's conception of curriculum implementation is evident in their negative comments about Shipman's study:

> Its problem from both a research and a policy point of view is that it would be time-consuming, messy, and difficult to interpret, given the amount of qualitative data that would be amassed if a large number of schools were involved (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977, p. 359).

Elliott and Adelman's (1974) study of the implementation of the inquiry/discovery, teacher/pupil role relationship model in England also focused on users of an innovative curriculum that was not prespecified. Instead of quantitative measures of implementation based on predefined constructs, during the early stages of the project as the curriculum evolved, values and procedural principles were deduced that were consistent with the central aim--to foster independent pupil problem-solving. Working in a research partnership with teachers, Elliott and Adelman attempted to monitor the extent to which operational processes reflected the project goal. To define implementation characteristics involving teacher and student behavior, they used pupils' perceptions of teachers' intentions as the main data source. Classroom observations, tape recorded pupil interviews, and teacher teams and workshops (designed to foster teacher feedback) showed teachers' feelings and institutional constraints could adversely affect changing a role relationship.

A comprehensive study of the implementation of a large number of educational innovations at the federal level, the Rand Study (Berman & Pauly, 1975; Berman & McLaughlin, 1976; McLaughlin, 1976) used both case studies and questionnaires. For the Rand researchers, the issue of implementation was far more subtle and complex than a mere "fidelity" to a blueprint. As part of the Rand's Change-Agent Study, of classroom organizational innovation, project results showed that "successful implementation is characterized by a process of mutual adaptation" (McLaughlin, 1976, p. 340, emphasis in the original). Because of the nature of some innovative projects which were not amenable to prepackaging and prespecification, during the process of implementation not only was the project design modified, but changes also occurred in the institutional setting and in the behavior of participants through a "mutually adaptive process" (p. 340).

While recognizing that such process-oriented studies have "enormous implications for how strategies of implementation are planned," Fullan and Pomfret (1977, pp. 360-361) considered the measures of implementation used in the comprehensive Rand Study to be "very weak" because some relied on self-reports of users and most were "global" in nature. This concern for conceptualization and measurement was evident throughout Fullan and Pomfret's review and analyses of implementation studies. Therefore, in "determining the impact of [any change attempt] upon the user system," the researcher must take account of the dimensions of a curriculum change, whether highly specified, externally developed, and imposed on users, or user-developed changes and adaptations in response to situationally-specific needs (p. 361). Secondly, these conceptual dimensions must then be related to the problems of implementation measurement (p. 365).

Conceptualization of implementation. Based on their literature search and review of implementation studies, Fullan and Pomfret (1977, pp. 361-364) conceptualized five major dimensions of curricular change. These included changes in: 1) subject matter or materials (substantive content, content organization, transmitting medium); 2) organizational structure (student grouping, spatial/temporal arrangements, use of personnel/materials); 3) role behaviors and relationships (teaching/learning styles, teacher/student roles, teacher/student relationships); 4) users' knowledge and understanding of the components of the innovation (philosophy, values, assumptions, objectives, subject matter, strategies, role relationships); and 5) users' valuing of and commitment to implementing various components of the innovation (value internalization). These five dimensions provide a comprehensive conceptual framework for examining the components of implementation.

Measurement of implementation. The second major concern in Fullan and Pomfret's (1977, pp. 365-367) review and analyses of implementation studies was the issue of measurement. Studies included in the review generally relied on four main methods of data collection: observation, questionnaires, focused interviews, and content analyses of key documents and curriculum plans. Fullan and Pomfret provided a brief critique of some of the problems associated with each methodological approach.

Although studies using observation methods usually provided the "most rigorous measurement of behavioral fidelity or degree of implementation if the innovation [was] reasonably well specified," some studies had problems related to conceptualization (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977, p. 365). Some researchers relied on sponsors' ratings and based judgments on global constructs, perhaps because of the difficulty of assessing some dimensions of implementation. Another problematic aspect of observation methodology was the lack of clarity about "the impact of observers on the performance of users" (p. 365). Thirdly, while conceding that "relatively unstructured observation methods may have the advantage of identifying more specific 'dimensions in use' of innovations," Fullan and Pomfret (pp. 365-366) appeared to favor structured observations which, conceivably, "may tap only the mechanical use of an innovation and/or not adequately assess other dimensions such as the degree of understanding of the philosophy and general strategies." Lastly, Fullan and Pomfret regarded the use of observation methods as "expensive and often unfeasible if large samples are involved" (p. 366).

Total reliance on questionnaire data was seen as problematic, primarily because of the discrepancy which can occur between reported and actual implementation. Moreover, most questionnaire studies used general measures of reported use. However, because of the "potential for reaching large samples of users," Fullan and Pomfret (p. 366) continued to encourage their use, as long as both specific and open-ended questions were included so that users' knowledge and understanding of an innovation's philosophy and basic strategies could be assessed.

Less frequently used methods such as focused interviews and content analysis were considered to have merit as well. Not only were they capable of "tapping non-behavioral dimensions" less accessible to questionnaires, but also they were less time-consuming than the more costly direct observations (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977, p. 366). Since all methods have inherent strengths and weaknesses, researchers were advised to use more than one method in any given situation (see Sieber, 1973, pp. 1335-1359; Smith, 1975, pp. 271-275). In a general sense, using what Smith calls "methodological triangulation" is sound research. More specifically, in implementation studies, triangulated inquiry allows some dimensions to be directly observed, while others can be inferred or determined through questioning strategies and documentary analysis.

Determinants of implementation. Attempts to identify and analyze the determinants of curriculum implementation are complicated by the complexity of the phenomenon of implementation and by the enormous number of factors which can influence it. Based on their analysis of studies of implementation, Fullan and Pomfret (1977, pp. 367-390) identified certain common factors affecting implementation. These determinants of curriculum implementation were organized into four broad categories: 1) characteristics of an innovation (explicitness, complexity); 2) strategies and tactics used to introduce and implement an innovation (in-service training, resource support, feedback mechanisms, participation); 3) characteristics of adopting units with effective implementation (adoption process, organizational climate, environmental support, demographic factors); and 4) characteristics of macro sociopolitical units (design questions, incentive system, evaluation, political complexity). Empirically derived from the implementation studies reviewed, these determinants do not constitute a theory of implementation (Fullan

& Pomfret, 1977, p. 368).

The role of characteristics or attributes of innovations in relation to their acceptance (adoption) has been adequately summarized.[1] Fullan and Pomfret's distinction between "adoption" and "implementation" has narrowed the relation between innovation characteristics and implementation to two factors: explicitness and complexity (degree of difficulty of change required by the innovation). The problem of explicitness[2] can be resolved through greater specification of innovative features by developers and sponsors, and/or the establishment of mechanisms for continuous co-definition by developers and users of the innovation in practice (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977, p. 369). Complexity or degree of difficulty of change required is another problem.[3] Although the perception of complexity by potential users can affect the adoption decision, third party judgment of innovation complexity is needed to understand its effect on implementation. Unlike adoption, implementation is dependent also on user capacity to perform in new ways. Not only is implementation related to the degree of change required, but the components of an innovation also can vary in their degree of complexity. Consequently, Fullan and Pomfret (1977, p. 371) concluded that in change situations, both researchers and practitioners "should be oriented to addressing continuously the program explicitness and degree of complexity of educational innovations that they are attempting to use."

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[1] See Giacquinta (1973, pp. 181-183); Rogers & Shoemaker (1971, pp. 134-172); and Zaltman et al. (1973, pp. 16-60)

[2] Several implementation studies have found that teachers were unable to identify the essential features of an innovative program (Gross et al., 1971), or the required behavioral changes (Charters & Pellegrin, 1973). See also the findings of Crowther (1973); Downey et al. (1975); Lukas & Wohlleb (1973); and Naumann-Etienne (1974).

[3] The effect of complexity or difficulty on the adoption of an innovation has been illustrated by Rogers & Shoemaker (1971). Implementation studies by Gross et al. (1971), Evans & Scheffler (1974), and Solomon et. al. (n.d.) have found that innovations requiring changes in teaching strategies and role relationships with students showed lower levels of implementation than those involving changes in structure, administrative procedures, or use of materials. Crowther (1972) found that teachers held favorable attitudes toward a new curriculum but perceived difficulties in developing and applying its new teaching strategies. For other studies of the relation between complexities of an innovation and its implementation, see: Elliott & Adelman (1974) and Charters & Pellegrin (1973).

The second set of factors affecting implementation involves the strategies and tactics used in introducing and implementing an innovation. Available research evidence suggests that in-service training, resource support, feedback mechanisms, and participation in decision making can have an important effect on implementation (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977, pp. 371-382). However, there is some indication that these strategies are "interactive in the sense that they may be mutually reinforcing over time" (p. 371).

Intensive in-service teacher training, rather than single workshops or pre-service training, appeared to be an important strategy for effective implementation of an innovation.[1] Such an on-going experience can provide the demonstration models and the psychological reinforcement conducive to resocialization of teacher-users. However, the amount of structure or direction, the best types of trainers, and the frequency and timing of such in-service experiences remain problematic.

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[1] For implementation studies dealing with in-service training of teachers, see: Ashley & Butts (1970); Berman & Pauly (1975); Cole (1971); Crowther (1972); Hess & Buckholdt (1974); Hestand (1974); Hamingson (1973); MacDonald & Walker (1974); Solomon et al. (n.d.)

Resource support in the form of time, materials, and other facilities during implementation is another strategic factor in effective implementation.[1] Teachers need time to become familiar with new materials and methods and to think reflectively about problems of implementation. Furthermore, sufficient time must be allotted in the change process for adequate implementation.

Feedback mechanisms showing the nature of the interactive network provide an important means of identifying and resolving problems during implementation. Their absence presents a serious implementation problem.[2] However, other factors also present in the setting can minimize feedback accuracy and effectiveness. These include teacher role anxieties about change, power relationships between producers and recipients of feedback, evaluative procedures, the degree of irreversibility of the innovation decision, and the degree of participant commitment (Sarason, 1971). Furthermore, external expectations for success can create unrealistic pressures on teachers who then tend to falsify feedback (Hamingson, 1973). Peer feedback and discussion (Downey et al., 1975), as well as regular and frequent staff meetings (Berman & Pauly, 1975; House, 1975), can enhance the chances of effective implementation.

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[1] For implementation studies dealing with resource support during implementation, see: Gross et al. (1971); Charters & Pellegrin (1973); Crowther (1972); Downey et al. (1975); Berman & Pauly (1975); Hamingson (1973); Cole (1971); Miller & Dhand (1973); Shipman (1974); Sarason (1971); Eastabrook et al. (1974).

[2] The absence of feedback networks during implementation was considered a serious drawback by Gross et al. (1971); Charters & Pellegrin (1973); Washington University (1970); and Sarason (1972). Feedback exchanges with consultants significantly affected successful implementation according to Cole (1971) and Crowther (1972).

User participation in the innovative process is presumed to be an effective strategy, although research evidence is inconclusive on the relation between participation and implementation.[1] Fullan and Pomfret's (1977) review found only a few examples of user participation in implementation decisions. Some studies (Duet, 1972; Lamont, 1964) indicated that active involvement in the development process resulted in greater teacher knowledge of and varied use of curriculum guides. Hestand's (1974) study of teacher participation in the planning and trial implementation of a differentiated staffing model found that changes occurred in teacher and student behavior as a result of participation. On the other hand, Charters and Pellegrin's (1973) study of differentiated staffing showed an unsuccessful attempt at teacher participation.

To clarify the issue of the relation of teacher participation to implementation, Fullan and Pomfret (1977, pp. 378-382) examined the issue in the context of two stages of the innovative process: initiation (including adoption) and implementation. With the exception of Hestand's (1974) study where teachers were active co-deciders in assessing and choosing an innovation, the most prevalent form of teacher participation in the initiation stage was volunteering/accepting to try out an innovation proposed by others. Teacher participation during implementation was examined from both the managerial and the user perspective (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977, p. 379).

From the managerial perspective, resocialization of teachers is vital if the innovation is to be implemented as intended. Implementation becomes a matter of gaining user adherence to the intended characteristics. In contrast, the user perspective assumes that users make the decisions about what to implement and how to implement it. Users act as co-deciders in planning for and actually carrying out implementation of an innovation. However, having the right to decide to implement, without sufficient resource supports, can lead to confusion, frustration, role overload, and even eventual rejection of an innovation (Charters & Pellegrin, 1973; Smith & Keith, 1971). Without research evidence to show whether one approach is superior to the other, Fullan and Pomfret (1977, p. 381) suggest that if the aim is to standardize the implementation of a highly explicit innovation, then the managerial perspective on user participation in implementation could be more effective. However, since a priori explicitness in some curricular reforms is often difficult if not impossible, then the user perspective that is based on a high degree of user input could be more effective in achieving high degrees of implementation. Nevertheless, studies focusing on the role of teachers as participants in implementation invariably neglect students and parents as possible co-deciders on participation in implementation (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977, p. 381).

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[1] See Giacquinta (1973) for a review of research on the relation between participation and acceptance of change.

The third set of factors affecting implementation includes characteristics of the adopting units. Although there is much research evidence concerning characteristics of adopting units (Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971), little is known about which adopting unit characteristics are more conducive to implementation. In their review of studies related to this factor, Fullan and Pomfret (1977, pp. 382-386) found three main issues: 1) the nature of the process of adoption and self-selection; 2) the organizational process characteristics of adopting units; and

3) the demographic characteristics of adopting units and their environments.

In the majority of studies reviewed and analyzed, participants were volunteers. Since little information was included about selection procedures and about how innovations were presented to the potential volunteers, the initial reactions of the participants remain unknown. Thus, drawing inferences about how the process of adoption affects implementation is extremely difficult. In the Rand Study, Berman and McLaughlin (1976) focused on adoption in relation to implementation. They identified two models of adoption: opportunism and problem-solving. Opportunistic adopting units responded to available funds but showed little local commitment. In contrast, problem-solving adopting units emerged from locally identified needs and produced greater changes.

The second issue involving adopter characteristics relates organizational process variables to implementation. Several studies of the organizational climate suggest that the organizational capacity for change may be more important than the innovation itself. The Rand Study findings (Berman & McLaughlin, 1976; Berman & Pauly, 1975) linked features of the setting, such as teacher morale and administrative support, to increased chances of teacher change and unsuccessful implementation. Other studies have supported the Rand Study results.[1] However, some unresolved issues remain (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977, p. 384). Organizational features were not measured prior to the introduction of the innovation, global measures of leadership were used, and little is know about which features produced the climate favorable to implementation.

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[1] Studies have shown relationships between: greater teacher participation in decision-making and greater implementation of open school innovation (Naumann-Etienne, 1974); administrative support and degree of implementation (Evans & Scheffler, 1974); role of the principal and school-based change (Crowther, 1972); intra-staff cooperation and exchange of ideas and implementation (Naumann-Etienne, 1974; Downey et al., 1975).

The third issue concerning characteristics of adopting units deals with demographic and environmental factors affecting implementation. These include social class, rural-urban location, level of schooling, and individual characteristics of the staff. Both House (1975) and Downey and his associates (1975) found differences in adoption levels between urban and rural areas; however, there is little research on the relation of rural-urban differences and of other factors such as social class to implementation. Most of the studies dealt with pre-school or elementary school populations, Yet Fullan and Eastabrook (1973) found differences in orientation to change between elementary and secondary levels. Poll's study (1970) showed that secondary teachers were less willing to plan, and Berman and Pauly (1975) reported higher perceptions of implementation success in elementary, not secondary school projects. More research is needed on the role of students in the implementation process (Chesler & Lohman, 1971; Fullan & Pomfret, 1977). Although the studies reviewed did not measure or report on the role of teacher background characteristics in implementation, several inferred or suggested that teacher capacity to use the innovation, not age or level of education, may be the most difficult aspect of implementation (Charter & Pellegrin, 1973; Crowther, 1972; Lukas & Wohlleb, 1973; Gross et al., 1971; Downey et al., 1975).

Macro socio-political factors form the final set of major factors or determinants of curriculum implementation as identified by Fullan and Pomfret (1977, pp. 386-390). The political context in which innovative programs are implemented can seriously affect the process of implementation. Political agencies outside the adopting unit include local school system boards, local government, community agencies, and national/federal organizations. Studies of the relation between political factors and implementation include: Rivlin and Timpane (in process), Lukas (in process), Cohen (in process), Pincus (1974), and Pressman and Wildavsky (1973). Design issues, incentive systems, evaluation, and political complexity are among the factors appearing to have significant effect on the implementation of innovations.

According to Fullan and Pomfret (1977, p. 386), "The sponsoring and adoption of large scale programs of reform are to a large extent political acts." Consequently, variations in degree of implementation may be traceable to some extent to the manner in which representatives at multi-tiered levels of decision making involved their constituencies in the adoption decision. Where self-selection is possible, volunteers may differ in their reasons for agreeing to participate in the implementation. Not all participants may be "willing participants," especially where the decision to adopt has been made externally by some other agency. Political decisions to adopt a curricular innovation often lead to mobilization of efforts to obtain maximum adoption in as short a time as possible, with minimal resources and little attention to the actual implementation.

Sponsors of large-scale curriculum reform projects tend to forget what House (1975) has called "the teacher's predicament." Personal costs for teachers willing to try out new ideas include the expenditure of much time and energy and the strain and trauma of learning new skills. Yet, most teachers are expected to bear these costs at their own expense. Among the major problems experienced during implementation of a new program, teachers have cited lack of time and energy, teacher overload, and multiple demands (Berman & Pauly, 1975; Charters & Pellegrin, 1973; Downey et al., 1975).

The politics of evaluation[1] also may inhibit the process of implementation. Users may be reluctant to discuss their implementation problems freely with sponsors or superiors who are strong advocates of a particular innovation. Openness, however, may be encouraged by altering incentive systems, by increasing the time frame for implementation so that the sense of urgency is lessened, or by placing the responsibility for evaluation with users (Fullan, 1974; Cohen, in process).

In their examination of the political complexity of implementing a large-scale innovative project, Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) concluded that there was a crucial link between policy and the implementation process. Even where participants favored a proposal, they might still fail to implement it. Perhaps they prefer other programs, or they might have set other priorities. Some may be dependent on others who lack a sense of urgency. Differences relating to leadership and organizational roles may occur among different levels or agencies involved in implementation. Or, those agreeing to adopt a program may still lack the power to carry out the decision.

Policy Implications. According to Fullan and Pomfret (1977, pp. 390-393), because of the complexity and the controversial nature of the process of implementation, policy makers should attend to the many anticipated and unanticipated problems both prior to, and during the process of implementation. Since available research evidence indicates that current policies tend to promote adoption, not implementation, Fullan and Pomfret suggest a number of ways that policy-makers can address the critical factors affecting implementation.

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[1] See Cohen (1972) and Weiss (1972) for a treatment of the issue of politics and evaluation.

First, they recommend that centrally policy-makers should emphasize broad-based programs and should provide support for local development of more specific forms of implementation. Secondly, local experimentation with implementation should be encouraged to produce innovative variants as consequences of exploration, negotiation, and 'development in use' (March, 1972; Pincus, 1974). Thirdly, during initial implementation, evaluation of innovative projects should aim at facilitating local implementation rather than at judging success or failure (Berman & McLaughlin, 1976). Fourthly, incentive systems should be altered to provide more time, personal interaction, in-service training, and other people-based support. Lastly, planning for collaborative change should anticipate and prepare for role changes in the relationships among researchers, developers, policy-makers, and implementers.

Such policy recommendations, however, run counter to the current emphasis on dissemination of innovations which promotes "the spread of innovations without adequately addressing the most pressing problems of implementation" (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977, p. 392). According to House (1973), underlying the strategies for change is the "doctrine of transferability," whereby the researcher-practitioner relationship is a subtle attempt to get practitioners to use the products while the initiatory power remains with the planners (p. 241). Instead of concentrating on innovation-centred diffusion efforts to "spread" an innovation, policy-makers should adopt a user-centred approach which involves conceptual understanding and location of "implementation" within a framework of situational experience (Cooper, 1976; Sieber et al., 1972).

The prospects for successful project implementation seem to depend on a variety of factors. In the curriculum literature on implementation, speculations about possible reasons for noncompliance or nonimplementation have included accusations of teacher apathy and resistance to change, the absence of tangible incentives for innovative teaching behavior, and ineffective "installation" strategies. According to Becher and Maclure (1978), teachers may have mixed motives for responding to change proposals.

> Many of those who first embrace a new idea are the lively, enthusiastic and imaginative teachers who are quick to see the possibilities for improving their own teaching; but some may simply have a vague dissatisfaction with the status quo, or believe that 'getting in on the act' will improve their standing or career prospects. Many of those most resistant to change are the sincere and dedicated teachers who are rightly suspicious of gimmicks or cure-alls, and who are anxious to safeguard the long-term interests of their pupils; but others are merely dull, unimaginative, or too lazy to alter their established routines. It is much too simplistic to equate 'innovative' with 'good' or 'conservative' with 'bad' (or, of course, vice versa) (Becher & Maclure, 1978, p. 113).

Lortie (1975), in a sociological study of the ethos of teaching as an occupation, provides an insightful comment. According to Lortie:

> Schooling is long on prescription, short on description . . . .Changes are proposed and initiated without sure knowledge of the settings they are supposed to improve. Without a clear picture of school reality, efforts at rationalization can dissolve into faddism and panacean thinking (Lortie, 1975, pp. vii-viii).

Invariably, attempts to analyze, as opposed to attempts to conceptualize, tend to highlight the methodological biases of the analyzer (Becher & Maclure, 1978, p. 110). Fullan and Pomfret's analytic review of recent implementation studies in curriculum and instruction shows their underlying technical interest in control (planned change), a bias reflected early in the opening rationale:

> In summary, it is necessary to examine implementation in order to determine if in fact any change has happened, and in order to understand why change occurs or fails to occur (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977, p. 340).

Their concern for precise empirical conceptualization and measurement of implementation phenomena was communicated in their use of technocratic language, planned change terminology, and military-industrial metaphors. In the interests of contributing toward the development of a theory of curriculum implementation, Fullan and Pomfret selected studies using quantitative measures of implementation in order to produce nomological knowledge with the explanatory power to enhance efficiency, certainty, and predictability.

In contrast, qualitative studies adopting a holistic stance toward curriculum implementation take as their primary focus "a single, self-maintaining social system."

> In each case the emphasis is on the individuality or uniqueness of the system, its wholeness or boundedness, and the ways it maintains its individuality (Diesing, 1971, p. 5).

Such a holistic or contextual approach to studying a whole human system in its natural setting assumes that social systems tend to develop a characteristic wholeness or integrity that is manifested in a basic ethos or set of values, in a basic mode of operation, and in a complex pattern of interrelated themes or meanings that are created by and affect individual members.

A descriptive case study of a classroom setting in which a curriculum is being implemented should capture and express this holistic quality, using concepts derived from the subject matter itself--the thinking and acting of the people being described. "The belief in the primacy of subject matter over method is perhaps the most striking characteristic of the holistic standpoint," says Diesing (1971, p. 140), and is related to "a more general attitude of respect for human beings" and "a feeling that the only instrument that is good enough for studying human beings is man himself" (p. 141).

> Human beings. . . . are not things and should not be treated as things; they should not be experimented upon, controlled, duped, and generally used in the name of science. Even a scientific reduction of a person to a set of variables is in a way disrespectful because it mutilates integrity. The holist's attitude of respect is not often expressed explicitly . . . .but one feels it again and again in the way he goes about his work (Diesing, 1971, p. 141).

A Rationale for Participant Observation

Participant observation, a research method first developed by anthropologists, is also frequently used by community-study sociologists, social psychologists, political scientists, and organization theorists. Alternately known as "ethnography" or "the science of cultural description" (Wolcott, 1975, p. 112), participant observation has, according to McCall and Simmons (1969, p. 1), "given rise to more criticism and controversy in the past twenty years" than any other social science inquiry method. Similarly, Bogdan (1972, p. 3) claims that the term "has not enjoyed a clear definition in the social sciences." The definition offered by Schwartz and Schwartz (1955, p. 344) seems most appropriate for the purposes of this study. Schwartz and Schwartz define participant observation as:

> a process in which the observer's presence in a social situation is maintained for the purpose of scientific investigation. The observer is in a face-to-face relationship with the observed, and, by participating with them in their natural life setting, he gathers data. Thus, the observer is part of the context being oberved, and he both modifies and is influenced by this context (Schwartz & Schwartz, 1955, p. 344).

Traditionally, classroom studies in education have used structured observational systems to reduce the stream of classroom behavior to smaller units of categorization for easier tabulation and computation (Simon & Boyer, 1970). However, the positivistic epistemological basis of such research has contributed little to an understanding of the intersubjectivity of everyday life in classrooms where social actors (teachers and students) negotiate and attach meanings to events in their experiential life-worlds (Cosin et al., 1971).

An alternative approach to classroom studies has emerged in recent years, using participant-observation methodology to provide an "ethnographic description" of the interaction, setting, and actor-relevant meanings in a particular educational situation. Challenging the interaction analysis tradition and the psychometric paradigm, this approach to school or classroom studies has been labeled anthropological, sociographic, micro-ethnographic, or ethnographic (Robinson, 1974, p. 254). Applying some of the principles of anthropological fieldwork and reporting to an educational setting, "a participant observer shares in the life activities and sentiments of people in face-to-face relationships" (Bruyn, 1963, p. 22). Like the anthropologist, the participant observer is a sensitive instrument of direct observation, gathering a wide range of data and using a variety of relatively unstructured techniques to gain an understanding of how people in a particular setting interpret or define the situation. Prolonged immersion in the flow of classroom events by a participant observer who is close to the phenomena under investigation and the use of flexible methods "[maximize] the possibilities of unexpected discoveries being made and incorporated into the research" (West, 1977, p. 59).

A rationale for using participant-observation methodology in classroom research rests on two fundamental sets of hypotheses about human behavior: 1) the naturalistic-ecological hypothesis, and 2) the qualitative-phenomenological hypothesis (Wilson, 1977, pp. 247-253). Those subscribing to the naturalistic-ecological hypothesis argue that the influence of contextual factors on human behavior, as shown by social scientists, ecological psychologists, and social psychologists, requires that human behavior be studied by direct observation in the natural setting. However, the conventional research tradition of deriving _a priori_ hypotheses, defining operational observation categories, and developing empirical-analytic methods of collecting and analyzing data remains unquestioned. In contrast, those adhering to the qualitative-phenomenological hypothesis offer an alternative view of objectivity and of appropriate methods for studying human behavior in natural settings. Challenging the traditional "objective" researcher stance and standard research procedures, phenomenologists consider the interpretations of their research subjects of primary importance, "bracketing" their own preconceptions in order to discover the emic (actor-relevant) meaning of events.

Participant Observation Studies in Education

The growing popularity of the anthropological approach to studying educational phenomena can be seen in the number of such studies appearing recently in the literature.[1] Most holistic studies combining fieldwork in an educational setting and in the community at large have shown how teaching and learning in school are affected by the socio-cultural processes in the surrounding milieu. Conversely, some of the socio-cultural inequalities present in the community have been transmitted and accentuated by the realities of the schooling experience.[2] Other system-wide ethnographies have revealed how the educational setting has affected the constructed reality and meanings of observed participants.[3]

The major aim of such empirical case studies has been to produce generalizations that can be compared cross-culturally. However, most of the studies have remained at the broadly descriptive level (Sindell, 1969, p. 595) and have failed to make explicit the methodologies used (Sanday, 1976, p. 174). Furthermore, most of the community-oriented studies have been biased toward an adult view of reality (Sindell, 1969, p. 596). Robinson (1974) has criticized King's The School at Mopass (1967) for its theoretical speculation about "marginality" as a key factor in the lives of students and teachers without presenting the data for validating the ideas in the actual ethnographic account itself. Singleton's study (1968) of the Nichu Middle School in Japan also was criticized for failing to communicate the dynamics of the school "as an arena of negotiation for several pressure groups" in the still rather than moving "photograph" presented of the school (Robinson, 1974, p. 260). Similarly, Wolcott's study (1967, 1968) of the Kwakiutl school and community was faulted for his failure to make explicit the preliminary nature of his research and of his interpretative framwork (Robinson, 1974, p. 261).

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[1] In an early review of anthropological approaches to education, Sindell (1969) found three main foci of reasearch: schools and their socio-cultural milieux; classroom processes; and individual pupils and educators. Burnett's (1974) annotated bibliography of anthropological research on formal and informal education includes items from culture and personality, sociolinguistics, and comparative education. Magoon's (1977) review presents a tabular summary of some "constructivist" perspectives in educational research grouped by setting and focus as: 1) system-wide ethnographies; 2) teachers, administrators; 3) classroom communications; 4) philosophical and methodological proposals; 5) evaluation; and 6) measurement. For briefer, critical reviews of some ethnographic classroom studies, see Robinson (1974), Sanday (1976), and West (1977).

[2] Community-oriented studies have focused on education in rural Germany (Spindler, 1969; Warren, 1967), in Japan (Brameld, 1968; Singleton, 1968), in a Philippine barrio (Jocano, 1969), in a Kwakiutl village (Wolcott, 1967, 1968), on Sioux (Wax, Wax, & Dumont, 1964) and Apache (Parmee, 1968) Indian reservations, in an Arctic Eskimo community (Hobart, 1970), and in an Indian residential school in the Yukon Territory (King, 1967) and in northern Quebec (Sindell, 1968).

[3] For system-based ethnographies see: Barker & Wright (1955); Barker & Gump (1964); Becker & Geer (1968); Becker et al. (1961); Cusick (1973); Leacock (1969); Ogbu (1974); Rosenfeld (1971); Sharp, Green & Lewis (1975); Smith & Keith (1971); and Spiro (1958).

A second major application of anthropological methods focuses on individual pupils, teachers, and other educators.[1]

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[1] Ethnographic techniques of fieldwork and reporting have been applied to the study of educators in a variety of ways. Bussis, Chittenden & Amarel (1976) used in-depth interviews to probe teacher constructs and understandings; Cicourel & Kitsuse (1964) focused on the relation between the powers and role conceptions of high school counselors and student careers; Erickson (1975) examined the relation between ethnicity and gatekeeping in junior college counselor-student interview situations; Iannacone & Lutz (1970) focused on school board evolution from the participants' point of view; Lortie (1975) used data primarily from in-depth questionnaire surveys to examine teacher attitudes and beliefs abut work roles; McPherson (1972) focused on successive socialization into the rural elementary teacher role; Snyder (1970) studied the hidden curriculum of administrators, faculty, and students' values at a major university; and Waller's (1932) study of appropriate teaching roles remains a classic.

Some emerging methodological developments in research design have included Burnett's (1973) use of "event analysis" to compare the meaning of events in both home and school cultures for urban Puerto Rican youth in Chicago. Descriptions of observed segments of the behavior stream were supplemented with data collected by asking student informants about their values, desires, and cognitive maps.

Wolcott's (1973) ethnography of an elementary school principal used participant-observation methodology with "egocentric network analysis" to focus on an individual administrator's network of relationships with his staff, parents, officials of the school system, and students. Wolcott collected and reported a variety of data from several sources: enumerative and census data, protocols and field notes from participant observation over a two-year period, informant interviews, maps and photographs of the school and neighborhood, and time-and-motion studies of the principal's behavior over a two-week period.

Like Burnett and Wolcott, Warren (1968) emphasized observation of individuals, teachers in this case, in all settings (classroom and extra-classroom) in which they play their roles. Warren's concept of the "teacher-encounter" as "a natural appearing unit of interpersonal interaction which constitutes for the teacher a recognizable element in her occupational world" was broken down into three elements, physical setting, population, and activity, for the purpose of analysis. Somewhat similarly, Erickson's (1971) ethnographic work in schools uses the "situational frame concept," which originated with Edward T. Hall, to photograph and analyze the verbal and nonverbal components of a behavioral segment. Six parameters define a situational frame: space (location and proxemics), time, occupants, activity, perception (of the frame by its occupants), and control (over the frame and over its occupants). From an etic point of view, an ethnographer selects well-defined behavioral events for recording, then the emic significance of the setting and event is elicited by showing the participants the videotape or film and asking them to describe their perceptions and to suggest new settings and events for recording. A corpus of behavioral records can be developed of different situational frames and individuals in an educational setting that is reasonably free of observer bias (Sanday, 1976, pp. 175-176).

Sanday and Staelin (1972) have used school records to trace the effects of schooling on the cognitive performance of children. Using individual, home, and school variables included in the cumulative records of all ninth graders in an urban public school system, they examined the correlates of the change in intelligence quotient scores between kindergarten and the eighth grade. Preliminary analyses indicate that changes in the socioeconomic status of peers was an important variable that correlated with changes in IQ scores (Sanday, 1976, pp. 179-180). Although the richness of data derived from the usual ethnographic methods is missing, they argue that school records provide a significant data base for educational policy-making whose latent political meaning and consequences for students have not been sufficiently explored.

The third body of research using participant-observation methodology to understand classroom processes and communications is of particular importance to this study. West (1977, pp. 65-68) discussed some examples of participant observation to show the potential of such a qualitative approach to classroom research. Similarly, reviews by Sindell (1969) and by Magoon (1977) have included brief discussions of some participant observation studies focusing on the classroom.

Studies focusing on teacher classification of pupils include Becker's (1970) use of unstructured interviews to determine the process by which teachers sorted pupils into groups. The various dimensions used (learning skills, attitudes, respect for the teacher, and morality) coincided with the pupils' social class backgrounds. The effect on subsequent "objective" achievement scores and educational opportunities of this initial and early "subjective" teacher evaluation of pupils based on social class chances for success was confirmed and elaborated in a two-year participant observation study by Rist (1970, 1973). Keddie's (1971) study showed that differentiated curricula amplified the process during subsequent years of schooling. Furthermore, this repressive practice was evident also in child-centred education (Sharp, Green, & Lewis, 1975).

Some participant-observation studies have focused on the social construction of classroom order. How teachers define student behavior as deviant or disorderly on the basis of the type of infraction, situation, and student was the subject of an exploratory study by Stebbins (1971). Jackson's (1968) study of classroom life found that teachers, acting as "ring masters," used simple concepts regarding causality, rational processes, teaching method alternatives, and working definitions. Wegmann (1976) and West (1976) examined the process of discipline and classroom order construction from the perspective of participant observation. Smith and Geoffrey's (1968) collaborative study showed how this process of establishing classroom order preceded teaching the formal curriculum. Some recent theses and dissertations have elaborated the theme of classroom social order, while dealing also with the related issues of labeling and deviance (Yeung, 1975), language use (Bosence, 1974; Novak, 1975), competition (Bossert, 1974; Singer, 1974), dyadic relations (Hardy, 1974), new teacher socialization (McIntosh, 1976), and substitute teaching (Schotte, 1973).

Participant-observation studies have also used classroom communications as the focus of qualitative research. Mehan and associates (1976) studied communicative competence and interpretive skills of pupils as participants in socially organized classroom events such as curricula, lessons, and interaction. Role playing to help pupils understand the meaning of discrimination showed the power of teachers to assign meaningful social roles differentially to their pupils (Peters, 1971). Using simple enthnographic tools, Parsons (1965) observed how teachers' assignment of helper roles reinforced the helper-helped stereotyped relationship between Anglos and Chicanos in the wider community. Cultural differences in teacher-student communication patterns were also found in Leacock's (1969) study of teaching and learning in four urban schools which focused on how children in black and white, lower- and middle-class schools are socialized into various roles in society. Similarly, Byers and Byers' (1972) film recording of nonverbal communication between two black and two white children and their white teacher in a nursery-school setting showed a communications gap at the unconscious level.

A study of teacher-pupil interactions while learning how to play a new game convinced Schultz (1977) of the potential of ethnographic methods for comprehending the construction of everyday reality in classrooms. Extensive visitations to high- and low-achieving schools by trained ethnographers found that classrooms of the more effective teachers displayed family-like qualities and feelings [such as conviviality, respect, affection, friendship, cooperation] (Tikunoff et al., 1975). A longitudinal study of complex language usage in nursery schools found that language functions differentially for disadvantaged groups (Tough, 1977). The socially-situated meaning of words became the topic of inquiry by Walker and Adelman (1972) who showed how the indexicality of particular classroom talk is related to its classroom setting.

Fewer studies have focused on students as social actors in classroom or extraclassroom settings (Sindell, 1969, p. 601). Bossert's (1974) study related different classroom display routines to pupil preferences for peer work groups based on ability. Hargreaves' (1967) study of streaming in an English secondary modern school found significant effects of such a practice on student performance and orientation to school. Similar results were noted in a study of delinquent pupils which used unstructured interviews (Werthman, 1969, 1971). Participant-observation techniques were also used to study the behavior of selected secondary students with a reading handicap (Peters, 1978). A Center for New Schools multi-method study of student subcultures in an alternative high school "found that student sub-cultural group identification explained more of the variance in achievement scores than any of our standard quantitative variables, such as social background or IQ" (West, 1977, pp. 66-67).

Only a few studies have used participant-observation methodology to investigate how new curriculum materials and technology are interpreted and used in schools and classrooms. Dodge (1973) used participant observation to disclose the nature of social relationships surrounding the school media specialist. These relationships (as defined by significant members of the school organization) were then related to the specialist's capacity to introduce innovative devices and practices into the school setting. A similar premise that effective approaches to the implementation of curricular change have to be constructed on a better understanding of the naturally existing mechanisms operating in school environments (Doyle & Ponder, 1976) guided Bogue's (1980) participant-observation study of teacher perceptions of curricular change. Two grade two classrooms were observed in the process of implementing a multi-media kit in social studies education and additional data on teacher perspectives were collected through interviews. A focus on children rather than adults characterized Schoeneberger's (1981) participant-observation study of children's perceptions of mineral hardness as they interacted with print and nonprint materials in a science education instructional unit.

More studies are needed of how curriculum is experienced in the context of classroom realities. Operating from an "educationist context" (Keddie, 1971), top-down models of planned curricular change assume that the intended curriculum will become operationalized with a minimum of distortion through a transformative process controlled by installation strategies and teacher resocialization. In contrast, a user-centred approach to curriculum implementation, proceeding from a "teacher" context, seeks a conceptual understanding of the meaning of curriculum and of implementation as interpreted within a framework of situational experience. Such a phenomenological interpretation of curriculum implementation requires:

> an understanding of classrooms as they are to the children, teachers, and parents for whom they are a pressing reality. This understanding is not tapped by a questionnaire, elicited by an hour's interview or captured on a sociometric chart, but may be reached through the persistent observation and shared analysis of the 'events' as they happen (Robinson, 1974, p. 263).

Present strategies of curricular change in relation to implementation focus on "the most efficient administrative technique for organizing means to achieve 'desired' goals, with the goals assumed as an a priori aspect of the social context" (Popkewitz, 1980, p. 35). Such an objectivistic view of potential curriculum users as passive receivers of externally-defined social goals and interests ignores the intentionality and expressivity of human action and the intersubjective negotiation of meanings in the classroom. A participant-observation study of a curriculum-in-use can illuminate and clarify the phenomenon of curriculum as experienced by teacher-student participants in a classroom situation.

Some Participant Observation Techniques

As indicated by the foregoing examples, school ethnography is not a single, unitary methodology. As part of the anthropological fieldwork research tradition, it uses participant observation and in-depth interviewing of key informants as its mainstays (Wolcott, 1975, p. 121). Although direct observation is the primary distinguishing tactic of ethnography or participant observation (as it is commonly known generically in the social sciences), participant observers employ a kind of "methodological eclecticism" (Williamson, et al., 1977, p. 200), choosing techniques that are most appropriate to their purposes and circumstances. Consequently, life history studies, documentary and historical analyses, questionnaires, statistical enumeration, imaginative role-taking, psychological research instruments (ratings and rankings, the semantic differential, projective techniques), and personal introspection complement direct observation and interviews in the participant-observer's repertoire. More recently, eliciting techniques have been added from the "New Ethnography" (Pelto, 1970).

The Procedures of Participant Observation

One of the most striking features of participant observation methodology is the absence of standardized operating procedures. According to Williamson and his colleagues (1977):

> A set of rules for doing good field research would be rather like a sex manual: though we are surely better off with a discussion of techniques that have worked for other people than with nothing at all, we can never carry out the actual practice with manual in hand. Both sex and field research are instances of intimate and sensitive human interaction, and neither can be reduced to a simple set of techniques. The object sought by the field worker, a deep understanding of the meaning of a social action, cannot be realized by mechanically and unfeelingly using a simple set of instructions (Williamson et al., 1977, p. 201).

Nevertheless, although participant-observation methodology requires much flexibility in approach and timing, most researchers using this method typically follow some benchmarks or schedule of events falling into stages or phases. These can be identified as: pre-field work, data collection, and analysis. However, the boundaries between stages are often blurred and stages can be recycled during the research process (Bogdan, 1972, p. 9).

The initial focus.

According to Smith and Pohland (1974, p. 38):

> Persons engaged in qualitative research strategies disagree regarding the degree to which there should be _a_ problem, _some_ problem, or _no_ problem that initially guides the observer.

Most observational field researchers, however, begin their field work with a "sense of something problematic to be investigated" (Williamson et al., 1977, p. 38, emphasis in the original), or with what Malinowski (1922, p. 9) has called "foreshadowed problems." There is also much debate surrounding the role of theory in ethnographic research.

At one end of the scale are those who insist upon the use of theoretical constructs from anthropology or sociology for ordering and interpreting observations; at the opposite end are those who favor an atheoretical stance when entering the field. Those who prefer a theory-based approach to avoid aimless and random data gathering and interpreting (Lutz & Iannaconne, 1969) can be further differentiated as either "old ethnographers" or "new ethnographers." The former use existing sociological and anthropological theories as preliminary guidelines to produce an "etic" (outsider) understanding of a group, social system, or cultural behavior; the latter use linguistic models to elicit and reproduce the "emic" (insider) meaning of a social situation or event (Frake, 1968). In practice, however, most researchers enter the field with some "working hypotheses" (Geer, 1969) or certain "general heuristic maxims" (Overholt & Stallings,1976) based on "prior knowledge of the system being studied, partly from first observations, and partly due to conceptual and theoretical positions held by the researcher" (Lutz & Ramsey, 1977, p. 6). What is important is that the researcher make the reader aware of the "conceptual baggage" carried into the field.

Similarly, the dialectical relationship between initial questions and the choice of a research context is based on some kind of rationale which should be made explicit. According to Williamson and his associates (1977):

> Although some problem formulation must necessarily precede the choice of a setting, the very logic of naturalistic inquiry demands that such a priori conceptualizations must not become so elaborate and compelling that they take on the character of self-fulfilling prophecies. . . .It is a sound principle of qualitative research (though perhaps not a widely practised one) that one's initial interest should be with situations and settings more than with concepts and theories (Williamson et al., 1977, p. 203).

Locating a site. If "probleming" is one aspect of these preliminary ruminations prior to entering a research setting, then locating a suitable research site bearing on the research interest is another important concern during the pre-field work stage. Locating a site and gaining access are dependent on whether the setting is fully public or whether the membership is clearly restricted and monitored. Educational institutions such as public schools lie somewhere along the public/private continuum with official "gatekeepers" designated to regulate and legitimize the presence of outsiders in the setting.

Assuming that the participant observer is an outsider and not a member of the social organization being studied, Schatzman and Strauss (1973) advise the prospective researcher to "case the joint" carefully, for three reasons:

> 1) To determine as precisely as possible whether this site does, in fact, meet his substantive requirements--a question of suitability; 2) to "measure" some of its presenting properties (size, population, complexity, spatial scatter, etc.) against his own resources of time, mobility, skills, and whatever else it would take to do the job--a question of feasibility; and 3) to gather information about the place and people there in preparation for negotiating entry--a question of suitable tactics (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973, p. 19).

Knowing in advance some of the general and specific characteristics of the people at the site should enable the researcher to present herself/himself "advantageously to the right persons at the right time" (Schatzman & Strauss,1973, p. 20). Such preliminary knowledge, skillfully garnered from a variety of sources such as former or present associates or from an on-site visit to test receptivity, could include information about the identities and power alignments, the temporal work patterns, and some history of the site.

Gaining access and establishing rapport. Experienced participant observers have emphasized the importance of the problem of entry and of establishing a good research relationship (Bogdan, 1972; Geer, 1969; Schatzman & Strauss, 1973; Vidich, 1955). Careful monitoring of how entry to a site is gained (both officially and unofficially) and how it is maintained throughout the field work phase can affect how participants in the setting perceive the researcher (Wilson, 1977, p. 254). According to Bogdan (1972, pp. 17-18), "getting in" involves striking a bargain between gatekeeper and researcher. Such an agreement entails an understanding of each party's freedom of action and integrity of position (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973, p. 29). This reciprocal agreement can be defined as follows:

> For the researcher, this means his own relative freedom to move about, to look and listen--also to think in his own terms, and to communicate his thoughts to his own intellectual community. For the host, it means freedom for him and his group to work unencumbered and unafraid. This is why the researcher unequivocally assures the host of confidentiality and anonymity. On his own part, the researcher will make explicit, if necessary, his own requirements (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973, p. 29).

However, Schatzman and Strauss (1973, p. 22) stress the tenuous nature of the researcher-host relationship. In a "mutually voluntary and negotiated entrée," the host not only can prevent entry, but also can terminate the research at almost any stage. In other words, establishing good human relations in the field during the process of gaining entry is a fundamental first step in overt observational field research. But, maintaining amicable researcher-host relations (established initially and subject to change and possible disruption during the course of time) and developing new relationships with other persons in the setting during the course of the study are equally important aspects of "entrée" as opposed to mere "entry." In an organization setting such as a school, entrée is a continuous process of negotiation, not only with the gatekeeper or chief host, but also with other participants encountered at various levels of the organization.

Once the guardians of a social arena have given permission to enter a social situation for the purposes of conducting research, the method of entry becomes a crucial element. Kahn and Mann (1969) list four ways of dealing with the problem of entry in participant-observation studies. These include: 1) dual or multiple entry, 2) contingent acceptance at successive organizational levels, 3) double liaison, and 4) double access. Regardless of the particular strategy adopted, participant observers must pay careful attention to establishing rapport with informants so that a trusting and sharing relationship can develop in which the informant is willing to reveal intimate thoughts and to answer countless questions (Bruyn, 1966).

Taking a role. Gold (1969) summarized the many role-taking possibilities faced by a field researcher into four basic roles on a continuum that was determined by the degree of involvement of the researcher and by the degree of concealment of the researcher's intention. The four basic roles were identified as : 1) complete observer, 2) observer-as-participant, 3) participant-as-observer, and 4) complete participant. The role of the participant observer can also be described as either formal or informal, revealed or concealed (Schwartz & Schwartz, 1955; Becker & Geer, 1960). The process of role-taking in a participant-observation situation has been described as follows:

> Every field worker role is at once a social interaction device for securing information for scientific purposes and a set of behaviors in which an observer's self is involved. While playing a field worker role and attempting to take the role of the informant, the field observer often attempts to master hitherto strange or only generally understood universes of discourses relating to many attitudes and behaviors. He continually introspects, raising endless questions about the informant and the developing field relationship, with a view to playing the field worker role as successfully as possible. A sociological assumption here is that the more successful the field worker is in playing his role, the more successful he must be in taking the informant's role. Success in both role-taking and role-playing requires success in blending the demands of self-expression and self-integrity with the demands of the role (Gold, 1969, p. 31).

As a complete observer, the researcher becomes a nonparticipant detached from the situation who can resort to one-way mirrors, hidden tape recorders or cameras, or to archival records and documents which provide unobtrusive means of gathering information about the research subjects (Webb et al., 1966). The complete participant, at the opposite end of the continuum, disguises all research intentions from co-participants in order to become fully involved behaviorally and emotionally in the ongoing activities.

The participant-as-observer role, which combines some affective involvement with a corresponding downplay of the researcher role, involves a dynamic tension between the subjective role of participant and the more objective role of observer. In contrast, the observer-as-participant role assumes a more formal observation stance in which contact with the participants is more restrictive, and generally brief. Such relegation to the role of a formal observer in a classroom setting can be "a blessing in disguise," according to Wolcott (1975, p. 122), who candidly confessed:

> I am inclined to carry my notebook everywhere and to write in it constantly, even intrusively, while people are talking to me or in my presence. This does not always endear me, and I have often been told, "Now don't put this down in your notes. . ." but my conscience is relatively clear about my presentation of self when I am "observing" in schools.

In discussing disguised observation, Erikson (1966-1967, pp. 366-373) outlined two ethical principles which should guide the choice of a research role. First, researchers should not deliberately misrepresent their identities in order to gain access to what is considered a "private" domain where such falsification, if discovered, would be considered "illegitimate." Secondly, researchers should not misrepresent their research intentions.

Bogdan (1972, pp. 8-9) advises the researcher to inform her/his subjects of the research intentions and to seek their permission to conduct the study. Otherwise, Bodan warns, the role of hidden observer can become uncomfortable as the researcher struggles to control the anxieties centred around the fears of "getting caught out" and the "guilt of misrepresentation." According to Bogdan, exposure can be a very "awkward and rapport-shattering experience." In contrast, an overt researcher is free " to probe and seek out information," overstepping any limitations imposed by organizational roles and by too close an identification with organizational cliques and factions. However, Bodgan, like other conventional participant-observation methodologists (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Lofland, 1971; Schatzman & Strauss, 1973) advises the researcher to take notes unobtrusively, preferably not in the presence of the people observed, except during the course of a structured interview when such note-taking is expected.

Data collection. Keeping accurate and detailed field notes, whether written or mechanically recorded, is the key to systematic, objective, and analytical participant-observation research. Because the human mind forgets massively and quickly, some sustained means of recording what has been observed in the research setting is of vital importance (Lofland, 1971, pp. 101-109). During the early stages of a fieldwork project, complete and full recording of the first impressions of the setting, events, and people is particularly crucial because most researchers enter the field without a well-formulated problem and cannot yet distinguish the important from the unimportant (Williamson et al., 1977, pp. 209-210). Furthermore, according to Schatzman and Strauss (1973):

> In the field, the "input" of experience is exceedingly high, and however selectively it may be received through a sensory system, there is an internal exchange and a reflective transformation of these experiences. Awareness of this experiential input is particularly apparent to the researcher in the first hours of observation; hence he will take advantage of his initial sensibilities because he knows that within a short time they may be significantly lost to familiarity and to adjustment quite as they have been lost to persons indigenous to the places that he visits (p. 52).

In a "cook book" approach to note taking in the field, Lofland (1971, pp. 101-109) advises the researcher to cultivate the habit of directing one's consciousness to make "mental notes" describing subjects, conversations, physical settings, and ordering of events. If field notes are written at the end of a period of observation or at the end of a day, "jotted notes," recorded during the observation or at inconspicuous moments, can help jog the memory when writing full field notes. Other methodologists have suggested specific techniques to assist the researcher in recalling data. These include: looking for key words in subjects' remarks, concentrating on the first and last remarks in each conversation, and not extending an observation period beyond the researcher's memory range (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975, pp. 61-64; Schatzman & Strauss, 1973, pp. 94-99). In any case, the transformation of jotted notes into a chronological log of what went on to and in the setting and to and in the observer requires personal discipline and time for the researcher to minimize the temporal span between observing and writing.

Typically, field notes consist of a running description of "presenting properties": people, physical setting, and events or activities (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973, p. 55). In other words, the participant observer tries to weave into the field notes "the fabric of the setting" Bogdan & Taylor, 1975, p. 61), or "the ambience of the scene" (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973, p. 54). During the initial stages of observation, instead of rushing to find salient categories for analysis, or developing brilliant concepts, or establishing patterns of interaction, the researcher should have great patience and tolerance for ambiguity in a learning situation. As Becker and Geer (1960) state:

> Research aimed at discovering problems and hypotheses requires a data-gathering technique that maximizes the possibility of such discovery. Obviously, the more structured a technique, the less likely the researcher is to find facts whose existence he had not previously considered or to develop hypotheses he had not formulated when he began his study (p. 268).

Observation strategies should include careful attention to the researcher's own sensitivity as a valuable resource and tool for discovery (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973, pp. 52-53). As an outsider or "stranger" to the culture, a researcher has the advantage of "seeing" properties that have been lost to insiders and of "making the familiar strange," a technique commonly used by anthropologists. Secondly, the researcher "strives to maintain a continuing 'de novo' sensitivity and appreciation of all events, no matter how ordinary or repetitive they seem" (p. 53). Thirdly, the researcher is sensitive to her/his own interpretations of experience, recording personal feelings, emotions, and behaviors that can influence the setting. Fourthly, the researcher capitalizes on whatever is relevant from past personal experiences as a rich source of sensitivities to the currently observed situation.

In addition, most methodology handbooks counsel the researcher to adopt a standard form for recording fieldnotes. Schatzman and Strauss (1973) recommend that: 1) each set of notes should be set off by a title page which includes the date, time, place of observation, and the date and time the notes were recorded in full; 2) a diagram of the setting should be included; 3) wide margins should be allowed for comments and coding for analysis; 4) paragraphs should indicate topic shifts and quotation marks should be used to record remarks, using double quotes for exact recall, single quotes for reconstructed remarks; 5) notes should be categorized with some notation to differentiate "Observational Notes [ON]," "Theoretical Notes [TN]", or "Methodological Notes [MN]."

After some time has been spent observing and recording existential presenting properties, the researcher can select other grounds for pinpointing observations: representativeness, perspective, framework, listening, theoretical leads, and verification (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973, pp. 55-58). Certain representative behaviors may be selected for sampling, or the researcher may shift the angle of observation (perspective). A framework of what Blumer (1954) has called "sensitizing concepts" can be applied to provide an initial ordering of experience. These categories would eventually fade into the background as they are supplemented or supplanted by "grounded" concepts emerging from the phenomena actually observed. Additionally, by listening to comments in casual conversation, the researcher can get leads on what to look for and to listen to in further probing through structured or unstructured interviews and through analysis of documents and artifacts. As the study progresses, the "conceptual baggage" brought consciously or unconsciously with the researcher into the field can be replaced by developing new hypotheses or theoretical leads. Some of the new leads may require revision of the original research objectives or foci of attention. Meanwhile, the researcher's concern with validity and reliability is evident throughout the study. It is present in each "afterthought and second glance" that is directed toward a search for further evidence and verification, including negative examples.

Establishing validity and reliability. The standards of objectivity, control, reliability, and validity are important concerns for the participant observer. However, these traditional criteria must be reexamined when a study departs from the conventions of empirical-analytic science. Because the method of participant observation differs from the "scientific method" in many ways, critics who define social reality within the framework of behaviorism, neo-positivism, or structural-functionalism claim that the findings of participant observation are susceptible to "observer bias" (Vidich, 1970).

Objectivity as an ideal state always in the process of becoming is never fully achieved in the final sense by any researcher (Bruyn 1963, p. 231). Subjectivity and objectivity coexist for the participant observer in the feeling of respect for research subjects and in the open, unprejudiced apprehension and reporting of their social reality. Maurice Stein (1960) described the problem of objectivity in terms of "dramatic theory" applied to community sociology. Like a playwright, the community sociologist demonstrates a "dramatic sensibility that consists of the capacity to encompass multiple interpretations of a social world within a larger context which distinguishes objective structures without obliterating subjective meanings" (Stein, 1960, p. 325).

For a participant-observation study to have validity, the researcher's conclusions and the subjects' intentions in their original meanings must be the same (Bruyn, 1966, p. 255). However, the findings of a participant observer are subject to the same kind of "approximation of reality" that affects studies in the empirical tradition. Valid evaluation of the data produced must have some comprehension of the social dimensions of the situation where the data were collected. When interpreting the findings of a study, the social positions of the observer and the observed and their existing relationship must be taken into account. Vidich addresses the problem of validity in participant-observation studies in this manner:

> To the extent that a participant observer can participate and still retain a measure of noninvolvement, his technique provides a basis for an approach to the problem of validity. The background of information which he acquires in time makes him familiar with the psychology of his respondents and their social milieu. With this knowledge he is able to impose a broader perspective on his data and, hence, to evaluate their validity on the basis of standards extraneous to the immediate situation. To accomplish this, it is necessary that

> the participant observer be skeptical of himself in all data-gathering situations; he must objectify himself in relation to his respondents and the passing present. This process of self-objectification leads to his further alienation from the society he studies. Between this alienation and attempts at objective evaluation lies an approach to the problem of validity (Vidich, 1970, p. 172).

Wilson (1977, p. 258) uses the concept of the technique of "disciplined subjectivity" to demonstrate how data produced by participant observation are as "thorough and intrinsically objective as those in other kinds of research." Participant observers who operate from a qualitative-phenomenological hypothesis about the meaning of human action strive toward an "emic" understanding of a wide range of participant experiences. Using the techniques of representative sampling (Bruyn, 1966) and of situationally-interpretive data gathering by non-standardized observation (Becker, 1958), the researcher capitalizes on her/his sensitivities and experience to synthesize participant experiences into an "empathetic understanding" of their acts, feelings, and thoughts (Wilson, 1977, p. 259). While monitoring and testing her/his own reactions, the participant observer not only systematically takes on the perspectives of the research subjects, but also retains an outsider's stance, thus avoiding a monocular view or a lapse into impressionistic subjectivity.

Reliability, according to the tenets of traditional verification theory, is based on two assumptions (Bruyn, 1966, p. 255). The first assumption is that the study can be repeated; that is, that other researchers will be able to follow the same steps as the original researcher, using the same categories, procedures, criteria of correctness and perspective. The second assumption is that it is possible for two or more individual researchers to perceive similar meanings when applying these categories and procedures. According to Wilson (1977, p. 259), if each researcher followed the technique of disciplined subjectivity in the course of the study, then, just as in quantitative research, it might be expected that similar data would be gathered if similar methods are used. However, as in quantitative research, there is still the possibility that similar data may be interpreted in a variety of ways by different researchers.

The issue of objectivity is a matter of current debate within anthropological circles. Honigmann (1976), a strong advocate of what he calls the "personal approach" in traditional anthropological research, is opposed to the current positivistic trend toward greater "scientific rigor" in the discipline. Critics of traditional ethnographic research methods, like Pelto (1970, p. 38), urge cultural anthropologists to adopt standardized, objective techniques of data gathering and analysis and to pay more attention to the researcher's predispositions in the reported results of a study. Another critic would go even further and would throw out the "wild card" of greater self-awareness (Gross, 1975, p. 64). Objecting to this positivistic attack on the personal component in ethnography, Honigmann (1976) states:

> The personal approach rests on the premise that under certain circumstances value lies in the very uniqueness and nonrepeatability of a particular investigator's version of reported events or in the conclusions drawn from those events. The circumstances under which value is apt to be present include the investigator's being properly qualified for the task, having something fresh or interesting to say about a significant topic, and having the integrity to say only what he or she believes to be true.
>
> The personal approach may be considered from the standpoint of the person who uses it in looking at some aspect of the world or from the standpoint of the public who appreciates its use. From either point of view, in the approach, an observer's sensitivity, depth of thought, speculative ability, speculative freedom, imagination, intuition,

> intellectual flexibility, the degree to which thinking incorporates both affective and substantive elements, and similar abilities constitute the key factors in the production of knowledge. The very nature of those factors won't allow them to be standardized, nor can their operation be made totally explicit. Consequently, the personal approach also cannot be readily taught, but is learned through practice and by studying what teachers and models suggest (Honigmann, 1976, p. 244).

Although the procedures of participant observation may appear idosyncratic, practising ethnographers have devised certain heuristic maxims or guides to adequate research through practical experience. Bruyn (1963, pp. 232-233) has summarized some directives or principles that will help the novice participant observer avoid some of the common pitfalls peculiar to this kind of research. These directives include: 1) Examine all significant rules existing in counter-position in a circumscribed social setting. This rule helps the researcher avoid the tendency of "over-rapport" with the observed and the tendency to "romanticize" the plight of the observed. 2) Relate the research problem to a larger social context. Although there are limits to an investigation of a research problem, particularly when conducted by a single researcher, accurate references to a larger context increase the objectivity of the report. 3) Examine and describe the participant observer's own status in the social system. Findings and principles developed within the sociology of knowledge can help the researcher bridge the gap from her/his own biases inherent in the social position to a more objective perception of the image of the researcher held by the participants in the study. 4) Observe the subjects under contrasting social and isolated settings. To avoid misconceptions, the researcher should include evidence of any discrepancy between "idealistic" and "realistic" sentiments detected in different settings.

5) Evaluate the information as any personal document. Using some of the criteria used by an historian to evaluate a personal document, the researcher should determine the credibility of informants and should distinguish between volunteered or directed statements in the context of the observer-informant-group equation (Becker, 1958, pp. 654-655). 6) Indicate the proportion or segment of the group which expresses the norms of conduct being recorded. This notion of representative sampling should be made explicit in the reporting of the study. 7) Carefully specify the procedures used so that other investigators may follow and check the findings from the same (and from different social positions in the setting under study). In school ethnography, however, the setting changes with each new set of students entering the cycle of schooling and, thus, makes replication of a participant-observation study difficult if not impossible. 8) Examine indexes of distortion in reporting and evaluate the data with reference to them. The researcher should be aware of how the reciprocity between the observer and the observed, in which both relate to and are bound together through sharing the common role of human being, may diminish distance and reduce restraint in communication. However, this reciprocity may lead the informant to "produce" data that meet the expectations of the observer (Schwartz & Schwartz, 1955, p. 347).

Wilson (1977, pp. 261-262) presents two sets of criteria to assist others in judging how effectively a participant observer managed to become a "sensitive research instrument" in a particular study. Using an adaptation of Naroll's (1967) questions for judging cross-cultural studies, Wilson's first group of questions probes the researcher's ability to transcend her/his own perspectives as indicated in self-reports:

What was the researcher's role in the setting?
(e.g., teacher, administrator, researcher?)
What was his training and background?
What was his previous experience in the field?
What were his theoretical orientations about relevant issues?
What were his personal feelings about the topic?
What was the purpose of the study?
Who supported the study?
Why was the particular setting chosen?

Wilson's second set of questions probes the ability of the researcher in arriving at an understanding of the perspectives of the participants:

How long was the researcher in the setting?
How regularly was he there?
Where did he spend most of his time?
With whom did he spend most of his time?
How well did he understand the language of the participants?
How was he perceived by various groups of participants?
Which members of the community were his informants?
Was there a systematic variance in this understanding of the perspectives of the different groups?
What were the differences in information gathered by various methods?
What were the levels of confidence the researcher placed in various conclusions?
What was some of the negative evidence?

Data analysis. In participant-observation research there are no standardized operational procedures for analyzing qualitative data that are often highly complex and as varied as the individual styles of different analysts. Qualitative analysis, in contrast to its quantitative counterparts, is distinguished by its "simultaneity and continuity with other strategies" and by its "self-corrective and cumulative character" (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973, p. 108). In a now classic discussion of analysis in participant-observation research, Becker (1958, p. 651) noted that analytic thought processes operate sequentially, with direct consequences for data gathering which is guided by provisional analyses. This interactive process between the researcher and her/his data or experience bears a strong resemblance to the technique of analytic induction.

According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), qualitative analysis is an attempt to "identify themes and to construct hypotheses" as suggested or mandated by data. Bruyn (1963) considers the primary goal of qualitative analysis is to sum up the essence of the life of the observed though discovery of a "central unifying principle." Schatzman and Strauss (1973) assert that the task of finding "key linkages" is the fundamental operation in qualitative analysis. Similarly, from a cultural anthropological perspective, Honigmann (1976) identifies "descriptions" and "patterns" as two kinds of propositions formulated during the process of analysis.

As Becker (1958) and Geer (1969) have illustrated, data analysis in participant-observation research is an on-going process which occurs during the fieldwork and post-fieldwork phases of a study. Becker (1958, p. 653) has identified three different stages of analysis during the field work phase, with a fourth and final stage of intensive analysis carried on after the fieldwork has been completed. The three stages or levels of analysis conducted during the fieldwork phase are: 1) the selection and definition of problems, concepts, and indices; 2) the check on the frequency and distribution of phenomena; and 3) the incorporation of individual findings into a model of the organization or system under study. The fourth stage of intensive analysis concentrates on problems of presentation of evidence and proof.

During the first stage of fieldwork analysis, the researcher seeks descriptive categories or "sensitizing concepts" for a provisional ordering of observational data. Depending on the operational model of analysis employed, the researcher may decide to use existing concepts from the social sciences or other disciplines, or the researcher may prefer to allow an organizational scheme to emerge from discovered classes, sets, and linkages suggested by the nature of the setting and the data observed and recorded. According to Honigmann (1976):

> No matter how theoretically eclectic the investigator may be, or rich in concepts, the events will never be captured in totality. Only those features relevant to interests consciously or unconsciously active during observation will be noted, and many potentially useful features may well be missed. Hence the importance to the personal approach of a rich stock of orienting concepts and theory with which to accumulate abundant details that will allow a variety of intuitions to be employed during later analysis. In ethnography, . . .an observer enriches description if alerted to note inexplicit details of behavior of which the actors themselves remain unaware and for which, consequently, they cannot provide clues (Honigmann, 1976, pp. 245-246).

There is no precise formula for discovering themes or patterns or for formulating hypotheses during the analysis of qualitative data. Lofland (1971) suggests six classes which may be used in the initial ordering of observational data: acts, activities, meanings, participation, relationships, and settings. Wolcott (1975) provides a list of topics gleaned from accounts of ethnographic research in schools that could serve as a "starting point" in guiding fieldwork observation and analysis. Other useful procedures include seeking out apparent paradoxes or contradictions which indicate weak linkages between "ideal" and "real" culture. Lutz and Ramsey (1974) recommend using the structural method of analysis developed by Levi-Strauss to dissect a socio-cultural situation into its elements and then to reconstruct it in terms of relationships found among the elements. Wilson (1977) suggests that researchers use the comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) involved in the discovery of grounded theory which allows the researcher to constantly test her/his emerging hypotheses against the observed reality of the observational setting.

In the second stage of fieldwork analysis, Becker (1958) suggests that the researcher check on the frequency and distribution of the phenomena being observed. This usually involves some system of coding data. Depending on whether one is a "steady plodder" or a "grand sweeper" style of analyst (Lofland, 1971, p. 125), there is no one way of coding data to suit all purposes or styles. Lofland prefers to keep a series of on-going files (mundane, analytic, and fieldwork) into which data can be stored according to the ordering concepts. Schatzman and Strauss (1973) suggest that field notes be codified by type: observational, theoretical, and methodological. Bogdan and Taylor (1975) recommend noting and coding topics that occur and reoccur and topics that are avoided or emphasized during casual conversationa. Dominant topics can be assigned a letter or number next to the relevant paragraphs of a duplicated set of field notes. These are then cut by paragraphs and placed in folders by coded category. Alternatively, sorting and filing can be done with the help of index cards for each data specimen, a procedure that facilitates discovering relationships between concepts when it is noted that a data specimen falls under several categories (Williamson et al., 1976).

In contrast to such quasi-statistical procedures for checking the frequency and distribution of events in order to reach conclusions that are essentially quantitative, Honigmann (1976, p. 247) states, "[T] raditionally in ethnography numerical frequency is uncommon."

Instead, in the traditional method of pattern construction, for which there is no recognized body of standardized rules, the number of instances of something required for a pattern to be recognizable is "enough to support a feeling of confidence in the generalization" (p. 246). Furthermore, Honigmann adds:

> The features recognized in a set of events need not be present in every event of the set. . . . Hence patterns do not necessarily represent average or modal tendencies, but are often analogous to ideal types, specifying a feature not fully revealed in any individual event but apparent in a certain number of them. . . [T]he fact that the number is not specified does not deprive the patterns of utility for certain purposes (Honigmann, 1976, p. 247).

In the third stage of fieldwork analysis, the researcher attempts to incorporate individual findings into a "generalized model" of the social system being studied (Becker, 1958, p. 657). This descriptive model includes some statement about how the many variables are interrelated and it may involve conclusions about the necessary and sufficient conditions for the existence of some phenomena, about an important or basic element in the organization or system, or about how the situation observed is an instance of some process or phenomenon abstractly described by some existing theory or system of knowledge (Becker, 1958, pp. 657-658).

In sociology, participant-observation research has been related to theoretical or interpretive frameworks from symbolic interaction or ethnomethodology (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975), and, in fewer cases, from phenomenology (Bruyn, 1966). In anthropology, most conventional ethnographic fieldwork has centered around the traditions of "schools" founded by three influential figures: Franz Boas, Bronislaw Malinowski, and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown (Barnouw, 1971). More recently, New Ethnography or ethnographic semantics has employed eliciting techniques and concepts adapted from linguistics (Spradley & McCurdy, 1972).

Bruyn (1963), in a discussion of new perspectives for participant observation, suggested that social scientists, who have traditionally transposed and developed techniques and methodologies from the physical and organic sciences, should become more aware of the possibilities in other disciplines, including the humanities and the arts.

> For example, the fact that the subject matter of the social sciences and literature is so similar, makes it unusual that so little attention has been given to studying and comparing the approaches of each. . . .
>
> In the rhetorical allusion, in satire and irony, in the metaphor, the analogy and allegory, in the parable, and many other age-old artistic and literary modes may be found important instruments of inquiry and analysis, yet unexamined in the methods of sociological studies. The employment of such literary devices need not distort or misrepresent the essential purpose of sociological reporting. As techniques to convey social meaning (derived from empirical studies) they can be as useful and vital as has been the modes of logic or statistical analysis to scientific research. . . .
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> . . . .
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> The field of art has its own contribution to make. A study of the state of the aesthetic observer viewing an art object cannot help but add insight into the role of the participant observer as he observes the actors in his social setting. In a provocative discussion of aesthetic experience, Cassirer comes to Aristotle's theory of catharsis, and interprets how, through tragic poetry, a person takes on new attitudes toward his emotions.
>
> . . . .
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> Cassirer quotes Hamlet in speaking of the function of dramatic art which might as well be interpreted as the function of the participant observer recording and interpreting his observations of a particular culture.
>
> . . . .
>
> The cultural organization of people may be viewed in many ways other than its symbolic character. . . . It can be viewed as an aesthetic creation and described from the models of art criticism. For example, culture, like any art object, has many dimensions: its material product, its expression, its form, its function in the social order. If the sociologist were to begin by analyzing the form which culture assumes, by using a model in art criticism, he would guide his study through

> the principles of harmony, balance, centrality, and development, and pursue his analysis by way of their derivatives--recurrence, similarity, gradation, variation, hierarchy, and progression, all of which can be aesthetically perceived and reported in an empirical study of a cultural system (Bruyn, 1963, pp. 233-235).

During the final intensive analysis in the post fieldwork phase of the study, the researcher rechecks and rebuilds models by systematically indexing and arranging field note material to check the accuracy and statements about the frequency and distribution of events and propositional statements about relationships (Becker, 1958, p. 659). The state of the observer's conceptualization at the time the item of evidence was collected provides another criterion for assessing the evidential value of items in the field notes. Discovering negative cases can result from a well-formulated hypothesis and advance conceptualization of a problem, or "in the most unthinking fashion, when the observer has simply recorded the item although it has no place in the system of concepts and hypotheses he is working with at the time" (Becker, 1958, p. 661).

According to Becker (1958), in this final stage of analysis, model building proceeds more systematically as the researcher applies further tests of logical consequences to the conclusions and posits alternative hypotheses. The overall synthesis incorporates conclusions into series of established interconnections between partial models. However, there is no short-hand method, as in quantitative analysis, of presenting proof of how evidence was garnered and verified. Becker suggests that a natural history of how conclusions were arrived at by the observer during successive stages of the conceptualization of the problem would permit readers to assess the evidence as the substantive analysis is presented.

However, Honigmann (1976) considers demands for a high degree of self-awareness as "unrealistic."

> It is chimerical to expect that a person will be able to report the details of how he learned manifold types of information through various sensory channels and processed it through a brain that can typically bind many more associations far more rapidly than the most advanced, well-stocked computer. The high degree of explicitness being sought can only be secured by truncating research problems, narrowing the range of data (e.g., relying on words rather than actions [Edgerton 1970:347-48]), putting guard rails up to confine imagination, and abandoning a portion of the human potential for discovery. In that way the brain will better approximate the computer after which it is frequently modeled (Honigmann, 1976, p. 244).

In an alternative view of what accuracy entails in qualitative research using a personal approach that prizes individual versions of complex, multifaceted events, Honigmann (1976, p. 246) argues that "accuracy means that the investigator personally ascertains the satisfactoriness of a description and the patterns derived from a series of descriptions." Verification procedures will vary according to the theory and the concomitant rules for making inferences.

> Accuracy includes being faithful to what is conventionally regarded as true about the world or reasoning logically from sound premises when a description departs from collectively shared knowledge. Accuracy means confining inferences to the limits of what is warranted by empirical evidence, although different theoretical positions allow various degrees of inference. As a result, what is a warranted inference in psychoanalytically oriented research will strike an ecologist as reckless. The limits of inference also vary between disciplines (Honigmann, 1976, p. 246).

Reporting. The "personal approach" is inescapable at the reporting phase of a study when an investigator strives to communicate in some written form to multiple audiences what has thus far been primarily personal knowledge of a particular research experience. For a graduate student facing an examining committee, writing the report as a dissertation includes anticipating the kinds of questions members of this critical audience are likely to raise about the substance or method of the research and deciding how to defend the data, ideas, and methods. In addition, the graduate student is expected to submit a summary of the results of the research project to a host audience in the cooperating school system. Decisions about what and how much to tell, and how and when to tell are based on the researcher's assumptions about what these different audiences will accept as important and valid (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973, p. 130).

Establishing credibility with different audiences rests initially on the researcher's conviction that necessary and credible procedures were followed and on the researcher's sense of certainty that what is being reported was actually experienced. However, attempts to discover knowledge about the world outside existing research conventions and verification procedures familiar to some audiences may engender some skepticism in those who have been conditioned "to the persuasive power of quantified evidence" (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973, p. 134). Some graduate students (including this writer) may "feel the weight of criticism from too many audiences, and in trying to satisfy all of them block their own efforts at closure" (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973, p. 136). Viewing the final writing as some ineradicable measure of their intellectual competence and scholarly identity, such researchers will put off writing the report by doing other things. Ultimately, the researcher, whether a novice or established, must become critically selective of criticism and must be prepared to take a stand in order to "let go" of the work.

Aside from such highly personal issues which may torment some researchers more than others, qualitative field studies raise ethical problems about reporting the realities of participants' life-worlds, particularly in on-going, publicly-supported social organizations such as schools. The scientific goal of illuminating the way of life of a functioning organization by reporting direct observations of how real people in real jobs go about their everyday lives may conflict with the humanistic desire to avoid injury to any individual (Lutz & Ramsey, 1974, p. 8). One way to protect the privacy of informants is to provide pseudonyms and to disguise the name and location of the research setting; however, in a case study too much factual distortion can jeopardize the veracity of the descriptive presentation (Barnes, 1970, p. 246). Therefore, the writer of a research report is responsible for ensuring that alteration of details is not too significant and for indicating where such distortion has been introduced. Consequently, any attempt to develop a system of relational ethics governing the reporting of social research needs to recognize the absurdity of assuring absolute guarantees of anonymity, privacy, and protection when scientific standards of reporting call for full description in full detail of particular individuals and actions in certain circumstances (Fichter & Kolb, 1970, p. 263).

Wolcott (1975, p. 115) identifies another ethical problem confronting school ethnographers: the possibility that educational "innovators" and change agents will use ethnographic information to eradicate sources of resistance to change in school systems. Such a manipulative ethos may not have been part of the ethnographer's research intentions. Indeed, a humane (or perhaps naive?) ethnographer may assume that research evidence of the discrepancy between universal directives issued by centralized bureaucracies and the "pressing realities" of particular school or classroom settings could lead to a re-examination of administrative goals. In any case, school ethnographers should ask themselves, as Howard Becker did in his article: "Whose Side Are We On?" (Becker, 1967).

Reporting involves yet another dimension of personal involvement: "the field worker's own experiences and reactions are likely to form part of the ethnographic account" (Wolcott, 1975, p. 119). Instead of hiding behind a mask of neutrality, Redfield (1953, p. 156) advised anthropologists to present themselves in their ethnographic accounts, describing some of their feelings toward the people and events in the study. Rosalie Wax's (1971) field-work handbook contains the following personal revelation:

> HOW FIELDWORK CHANGED ME
>
> A colleague has suggested that I reflect on the extent to which I was changed as a person by doing fieldwork. I reflected and the result astonished me. For what I realized was that I had not been greatly changed by the things I suffered, enjoyed or endured; nor was I greatly changed by the things I did (though these strengthened my confidence in myself). What changed me irrevocably and beyond repair were the things I _learned_. More specifically, these irrevocable changes involved replacing mythical or ideological assumptions with the correct (though often painful) facts of the situation. For example, after I learned how the Japanese Americans really felt about the evacuation, I could never approach them or write about them as I had done before. I underwent a similar transformation in the Tule Lake center, when I began to perceive what the superpatriots were really up to. Indeed, after reflecting on how fieldwork changed me, I am now for the first time in my life completely convinced that fieldwork--insofar as it contributes to replacing incorrect notions by correct notions, speculation by fact, or falsehood by truth--is unqualifiedly a good thing (Wax, 1971, pp. 363-364).

Among the prerequisite skills for doing school ethnography, Wolcott (1975, pp. 115-116) includes a thorough grounding in cultural anthropology, complemented with cross-cultural fieldwork experience or extensive reading about other societies. Personal skills include those of a sensitive and perceptive observer, simultaneously sympathetic, skeptical, objective, and curious. Physical stamina, emotional stability, and personal flexibility constitute another set of skills. The third set, the skills of the story-teller and writer, Wolcott places high on the list of prerequisites for doing good school ethnography. Similarly, Kutsche (1971, p. 957) equates "good ethnography" with "good reporting."

Because ethnographers are forced to selectively report details of everyday life, leaving out a lot and slanting their descriptions of included details, the resulting ethnographic report is inevitably a "caricature" which reflects a particular person's point of view (Erickson, 1972, p. 19). Nevertheless, such systematic distortion or artistic abstraction of salient features presents the reader with an over-all pattern of main features. Erickson lists some "test questions" which can be asked of any ethnographic report:

> How did you arrive at your over-all view?
> What details did you leave out and what did you leave in?
> What was your rationale for selection?
> From the universe of behavior available to you, how much did you monitor?
> Why did you monitor behavior in some situations and not in others?

Positivistic critics, who have tended to dominate educational research, are inclined to call ethnographic reporting "subjectivism," "intuitionism," "journalism," "ideologism," and other pejorative labels (Erickson, 1972, p. 14). To eliminate some of the misunderstandings, Wolcott (1975, p. 125) urges school ethnographers to render such accounts both "objectively and sensitively" and to "include a wealth of primary data" so that the reading audience gets a sense of "being there" (Erickson, 1972, p. 15) alongside the participant observer. From an anthropological perspective, education is a cultural process which is on-going, elusive, and always in the state of becoming. Paradoxically, a school ethnographer tries to "hold it still" long enough to make a static sketch of it, using the linguistic ploy known as the "ethnographic present" tense (Wolcott, 1975, p. 112). However, ethnographic reporting has not resolved the dilemma of how to capture symbolically a dynamic process characterized by complexity and ineffability.

In the present study, the writer entered the classroom setting with the intention of using participant-observation methodology to gather, analyze, and report observational data on a curriculum-in-use. In preparation for the field work, the writer read intensively in the available literature on the use of ethnographic techniques in educational research, and browsed through numerous case studies of participant-observation research.

However, shortly after classroom observations began on a daily basis, she got "caught up" in the flow of classroom events which made some of the recommended operational procedures appear impractical and artificial. As she struggled to keep up with her running field notes, her written language grew more emotive and metaphorical. Then, through a "serendipitous" library search, she discovered New Journalism.

Experiencing Curriculum

Curriculum activities can be viewed from a variety of different, often competing, perspectives. However, the ideology of efficiency, reflected in the pervasive ends-means model of curriculum, permeates most curriculum activities from development to implementation and evaluation. Such a monocular educational vision, derived from a bureaucratic, industrial model, is short-sighted and unethical (Beyer, 1977, p. 274). An intelligent discussion of the notion of "valued educational activity" requires an explication of the value framework employed (Huebner, 1965).

Among the competing alternative perspectives from which curriculum activities can be evaluated is the aesthetic framework which can be applied to the process and to the product of curriculum activity. An aesthetic sensitivity to the essence of classroom experience can contribute to an improvement in the quality of classroom life as experienced by students and teachers transacting with an intended curriculum.

New Journalism, a particular field of literary nonfiction, offers curriculum researchers an effective means of commenting on classroom experiences with a "new" or "revised" curriculum. According to Barone (1980, p. 32), New Journalism shares with aesthetic criticism a concern with the modes of language used and "the regard for the patterning of information about phenomena encountered in the research setting."

What Is "New Journalism"?

With the publication of Tom Wolfe's incandescent The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby in 1965, "the first winds of acclaim and denial" generated by the New Journalism began drifing over the landscape of American literature and journalism (Weber, 1974, p. 13). Gathering momentum during the tumultuous 1960s and early 1970s, New Journalism swept across the fields of nonfiction and news reporting, its vortex of diverse writers and journalists stirring up controversy and debate.

Nearly a decade after its initial Day-Glo appearance, Wolfe (1973, p. 35), one of its major theorists and most vocal advocates, lamented: "The status of the New Journalism is not secured by an means. In some quarters the contempt for it is boundless. . .even breathtaking." On the other hand, Newsweek, March 31, 1975, commented: "Yet New Journalism's broader legacy to the print media still resonates. . . . The future of enterprising new forms of journalism--be they sociological or investigative--still looks bright." In a "Postscript" to his historical analysis of the development of New Journalism and the non-fiction novel, critic John Hollowell (1977) concluded:

> The new journalism in general continues to evolve in exciting new ways. The rebellion against formula it represents has already had a significant impact on the standard practices of American journalism (Hollowell, 1977, p. 150).

Like the turbulent era which gave it impetus, New Journalism is not easily defined or analyzed. According to Everette Dennis and William Rivers (1974):

> [The] new journalism is complicated, a wild mixture of styles, forms, and purposes that defies simple definitions so completely that it can be summarized only in the most general way: dissatisfaction with existing standards and values (Dennis & Rivers, 1974, p. 1).

Nevertheless, through popular and widespread usage, New Journalism, a vague and slippery term, became a convenient catchall label for describing and criticizing what Wolfe (1973, p. 23) called "some sort of artistic excitement in journalism," or what Ronald Weber (1974, p. 14) referred to as "a significant stir in American writing."

During the apocalyptic, crisis-ridden 1960s, when sweeping changes affected American lifestyles and values, a growing number of novelists felt pressured by a contemporary reality in which traumatic everyday events appeared more fantastic than their own best imaginative visions. Some writers of realistic fiction escaped into the realms of trans-fiction, while others created hybrid forms of non-fiction that combined fictional and journalistic techniques and styles (Hollowell, 1977, pp. 3-20). Parallel changes also occurred in journalism where a group of reporters, experimenting with literary devices, "[broke] away from traditional journalistic practice to exercise the freedom of a new subjective, creative, and candid style of reportage and commentary" (Johnson, 1971, p. xi).

It is difficult to be precise about the exact origin of New Journalism.[1,2] Shortly after it appeared in the mid-1960s, a body of criticism began to form around the term (Mills, 1974, pp. xv-xvii). The most frequent charge was that New Journalism was not "new" in any revolutionary sense. Predecessors of the form could be found in earlier political pamphleteering, personal journalism, muckraking, polling, and historical journalism (Hayes, 1972; Newfield, 1974). Some critics argued that since it also appeared in magazines and books, it was not, strictly speaking, "journalism." Others doubted its existence.

> Believe me, there is no new journalism. It is a gimmick to say there is. . . . Story telling is older than the alphabet! And, that is what it is all about (Breslin, 1971).

> To begin with, of course, one can say that the New Journalism isn't new. That's a favorite putdown: the New Journalist prances down the street, grabbing

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[1] Wolfe (1973) contended that he first heard the term in 1965 when Seymour Krim told him that Pete Hamill had called him and had said he wanted to do an article on "The New Journalism" about people like Jimmy Breslin and Gay Talese. By late 1966, the term "New Journalism" came up in conversation. However, Wolfe disliked the term because "any group, party, program, philosophy or theory that goes under a name with 'new' in it is just begging for trouble" (p. 23).

[2] See also Seymour Krim's letter to the editors of the Village Voice, May 25, 1972, p. 4, in which Krim credited Hamill with coining the term in the mid-1960s to identify new trends in journalism in response to social change.

> innocent bystanders by the lapels, and breathlessly (or worse, earnestly) declaiming about his "new fictional techniques," or his "neo-Jamesian point of view," or his "seeing the world in novelistic terms" and all the rest of it while the Old Literary Person gazes out his window and mutters: "New Journalism, indeed!" (Arlen, 1972, p. 43).

New Journalism has been defined both narrowly and broadly by different advocates, critics and commentators. Some of its earliest practitioners, forced to describe or to justify their own unique form or style of New Journalist writing, offered tactical definitions. Others have tried to include various subtypes of New Journalism in an omnibus definition of the term.

In a panel discussion of New Journalism, printed in Writer's Digest, January, 1970, Wolfe described the new form as:

> The use by people writing nonfiction of techniques which heretofore had been thought of as confined to the novel or to the short story, to create in one form both the kind of objective reality of journalism and the subjective reality that people have always gone to the novel for (Robinson, 1974, p. 67).

Claiming tenable positions in both journalism and serious literature, however, exposed the personal style of most New Journalists to attack from both sides--"[drawing] journalistic fire for too much intrusion by the writer, literary fire for too little" (Weber, 1974, p. 24). In a blanket condemnation of Wolfe's razzle-dazzle, flamboyant "magic writing machine," critic Dwight Macdonald contended that the mixture of two traditions--literature and journalism--produced second-rate literature and second-rate journalism. In his review of The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Baby, one of the first critical examinations of Wolfe's work, which appeared in the New York Review of Books, August 26, 1965, Macdonald dubbed the new form "parajournalism" not real journalism. He stated:

> A new kind of journalism is being born, or spawned. It might be called "parajournalism," from the Greek para, "beside" or "against": something similar in form but different in function . . . . Parajournalism seems to be journalism--"the collection and dissemination of current news"--but the appearance is deceptive. It is a bastard form, having it both ways, exploiting the factual authority of journalism and the atmospheric license of fiction. Entertainment rather than information is the aim of its producers, and the hope of its consumers (Macdonald, 1974, p. 223).

Not all commentary was negative, however. In an article in the Atlantic, June, 1966, nonfiction writer and critic Dan Wakefield argued that talented novelists who were experimenting with journalism were turning out work with both literary and informational merit. Wakefield commented:

> That is of course not the style of cold, clipped, just-the-facts-please daily newspaper journalism, and in an effort to categorize it, some observers have referred to that kind of approach as "fictional" . . . . the label suggests that the reporting done in such a style is not factual, but rather something the reporter made up. This is not the case. Such reporting is "imaginative" not because the author has distorted the facts, but because he has presented them in a full instead of a naked manner, brought out the sights, sounds, and feel surrounding those facts, and connected them by comparison with other facts of history, society, and literature in an artistic manner that does not diminish but gives greater depth and dimension to the facts (Wakefield, 1974, p. 41).

Gay Talese, former New York Times feature writer and reporter and one of the most creative of the new nonfiction writers, defended New Journalism against its critics. In an "Author's Note" to Fame and Obscurity, a collection of his magazine articles published in 1970, Talese offered the following definition of New Journalism:

> The new journalism, though often reading like fiction, is not fiction. It is, or should be, as reliable as the most reliable reportage although it seeks a larger truth than is possible through the mere compilation of verifiable facts, the use of direct quotations, and adherence to the rigid organizational style of the older form. The new journalism allows, demands in fact, a more imaginative approach to reporting, and it permits the writer to inject himself into the narrative if he wishes, as many writers do, or to assume the role of a detached observer, as other writers do, including myself (Talese, 1974, p. 35).

The stylistic diversity among New Journalists demands a certain amount of elasticity in the concept of New Journalism. According to literary analyst Michael Johnson:

> The principal distinguishing mark of New Journalistic style is the writer's attempt to be personalistic, involved, and creative in relation to the events he reports and comments upon. His journalism, in general, has no pretense of being "objective" and it bears the clear stamp of his commitment and personality. However, this isn't always the case, because some New Journalists have experimented with new techniques of objectivity, . . . and write with a renewed commitment to factual thoroughness (Johnson, 1971, p. 46).

Any attempt to trace the development of the concept of New Journalism as it evolved in the 1960s would be incomplete without examining the tactical definitions of New Journalism formulated by three of its leading practitioners--Truman Capote, Norman Mailer, and Tom Wolfe. Through promotional statements, interviews, panel discussions and television exposure, usually after the release of their respective work of nonfiction, these three major stylists contributed to the emerging and expanding definition of New Journalism in literary and journalistic circles (Hollowell, 1977, p. 59).

Capote's In Cold Blood (1965), a third-person, factual account of the mass murder of a Kansas farm family, is a fusion of novelistic and journalistic narrative forms which reads more like a novel than a news report of a real event. Combining his talents as a successful novelist with his earlier experiments with reporting, Capote produced an "exegetical" nonfiction novel (Zavarzadeh, 1976, pp. 93-127 passim). An outsider to the community where the murders were committed, Capote reconstructed the "stubborn facts" of the past event from a research of documents and public records, on-site visits, and intensive interviews with the killers and with other residents of the farming community.

Hiding his own subjectivity behind an omniscient narrative mask, Capote developed the narrative themes through a careful selection and arrangement of the "significant moments" that contributed to his dramatic purposes. Capote, insisting that In Cold Blood was not "mere journalism" but "a serious new art form," contended that his blending of the two traditions was an integral part of his own artistic evolution, not just a journalistic diversion during a period of decline of the realistic novel. In an interview printed in the New York Times Book Review shortly after the book's release, Capote claimed that he had single-handedly "created a new literary genre that is the envy both of novelists and reporters" (Plimpton, 1966, p. 2). However, his grandiose claim to have invented "the nonfiction novel" stimulated a critical debate that lasted throughout the decade (Hollowell, 1977, pp. 63-86).

Mailer, too, promoted his alleged invention of a new aesthetic form. His major nonfiction work of the 1960s, The Armies of the Night (1968) was subtitled "History as a Novel: The Novel as History." Like Capote, Mailer applied his formidable fictional writing talents to a journalistic rendering of a contemporary news event. He also insisted that his nonfiction work was not a topical effort by a waning novelist, but a progressive part of his "continuing vision of experience." Unlike Capote's detached style, "[Mailer's] brand of nonfiction is so intensely personal that most of those who dislike Mailer automatically dislike his writing" (Dennis & Rivers, 1974, p. 40).

A "testimonial" nonfiction novel of Mailer's eyewitness participation in the March on the Pentagon (Zavarzadeh, 1976, pp. 128-176 passim), The Armies of the Night placed the writer at the critical center of the reported event. In Part I of the book, Mailer chronicled his own personal involvement in the protest activities, a Novelist building a "crooked tower" equipped with "warped telescopes" for studying the "horizon" of American contemporary life. In Part II, Mailer the Historian relied on secondary sources as additional information. However, unlike the distorted newspaper accounts of the same event, Mailer exposed his "methods" so that the reader's "intimacy with the master builder of the tower and the lens grinder of the telescopes" allows for "correcting the error of the instruments and the imbalance of his tower" (Mailer, 1968, p. 245).

Of the three major stylists, the best-known writer, chief promoter and defender of New Journalism has been Tom Wolfe, whose "outlandish electric-blue suits and his flamboyant style" have placed him at the center of the New Journalism controversy (Hollowell, 1977, p. 126). In sharp contrast to Capote's artistic restraint, Wolfe's "baroque, effervescent, near-surrealistic style derives from his ability to let events reveal themselves as exploding, maniacal, and, usually, typically American" (Johnson, 1971, p. 50). A former "totem" journalist, Wolfe turned to the narrative techniques and plotting devices of fiction, in rebellion against the formulas and "pale beige tone" of traditional reporting. Critic Robert Scholes (1968) has called both Mailer and Wolfe "hystorians" who chronicle the symptoms of an hysterical age.

Wolfe's major nonfiction work, The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test (1968), a massive example of subjective-reality reporting, explored the "drug-inspired life-style of novelist Ken Kesey and his group called the Merry Pranksters" (Hollowell, 1977, p. 131). Combining extensive observation, endless interviews, and documentary material from the Pranksters' "archives," Wolfe "achieved a kind of new objectivity in which the vastness of detail allowed the reader to make his own judgments, unobstructed by condescending advice from the author" (Dennis & Rivers 1974, p. 22). Such portrayal of the "austere actuality" through the use of raw materials which correspond directly with the rhythm of "lived events" is an example of the "durational realism" characteristic of the "notational" nonfiction novel (Zavarzadeh, 1976, p. 181).

In addition to defining New Journalism by examining the diversity of styles employed by its leading practitioners, a second way of understanding the nature of New Journalism is through an analysis of the subject matter portrayed in the numerous books and articles written in this new "genre." Because of the range of topics treated by New Journalists, generalizing about New Journalism content is both difficult and risky. However, recent anthologies of New Journalism (Hayes, 1969; Mills, 1974; Wolfe, 1973), which have traced the innovative literary-journalistic responses to the pressures of topical issues have detected the emergence of certain dominant trends. Based on an analysis of the 103 articles and excerpts contained in the anthologies, Hollowell (1977, pp. 40-44) grouped the subject matter of New Journalism into four main categories: 1) the private lives of celebrities and personalities; 2) "emerging" patterns of social organization and new subcultural life-styles; 3) the "big" event, often violent, or the "unusual" situation;

and 4) general social and political reporting that goes beneath the surface realities.

A third approach to developing an understanding of New Journalism has been the attempt by some historical analysts to develop a typology of the various streams or subtypes of New Journalism. The most comprehensive definition of New Journalism resulting from such an approach is that of Dennis and Rivers (1974). Using an historical perspective to identify, categorize, present, and examine "the divergent journalistic voices that were raised in the 1960s" and their emerging progeny in the 1970s, Dennis and Rivers developed a typology of seven types of New Journalism.

The new nonfiction. More than any other type of New Journalism, the new nonfiction is best known for its distinctive style of descriptive reporting that uses the techniques of fiction in nonfiction writing.

> The principal stylistic innovation of the new nonfiction springs from the special quality of research that enables the writer to construct scenes. . . It might be called "scenic style" (Dennis & Rivers, 1974, p. 6).

New nonfiction writers such as Wolfe, Breslin, Talese, Mailer, and Capote, whose blending of reporting skills and narrative devices borrowed from the novel and the short story has aroused the wrath of the traditional journalist, are among the best examples of this new category of nonfiction writing.

Alternative journalism. Known as the "modern muckrakers," alternative journalists, who are dominated by the theme of personal responsibility, have set out to expose the sins of exclusion and the dehumanizing influence of establishment, chain-owned daily newspapers and magazines. Part of the reformist thrust of the 1960s identified with New Journalism, alternative journalism is both issue- and event-oriented, unlike the traditional or underground press. Seeking a middle ground, alternative journalists focus on "covering compelling major events and at the same time digging for underlying causes and long-term consequences" (Dennis & Rivers, 1974, p. 53). Providing exposés of wrongdoings in establishment organizations, alternative journalists often attack big business and powerful vested interests which try to control the mass media.

Journalism reviews. During the 1960s, periodicals such as the Columbia Journalism Review and the Chicago Journalism Review provided journalists with a forum for analyzing and criticizing journalistic practices in the conventional newspapers, magazines, and the broadcast media. As the American news media developed "an identity problem" because of their dual role as "detached observers of society" and as "participants in that society", dissatisfied journalists directed their energies toward improving existing practices by producing continuing critiques that would force the news media "to function in a more ethical, responsible manner" (Dennis & Rivers, 1974, p. 82).

Advocacy journalism. Advocacy journalism spans across a broad spectrum of newspaper columns, point-of-view papers, magazines, broadcasting, and cable television which emphasize journalist involvement and engagement in the events covered. Leading advocacy journalists--Gloria Steinem, Pete Hamill, Nicholas von Hoffman, Nat Hentoff--"write with an unabashed commitment to particular points of view, casting their reporting of events along the lines of their beliefs" (Dennis & Rivers, 1974, p. 8). "Threaded through the entire fabric of journalism," advocacy journalists are found in both the conventional and unconventional press.

Counterculture journalism. Although many advocacy journalists can be found in the world of the underground press, advocacy journalism and underground journalism are not synonymous.

> The underground press is basically a communications media for young people who are seeking different life styles because they are alienated from the conventional life style--and, of course, from the messages of the conventional media which celebrate it (Dennis & Rivers, 1974 p. 9).

Much of the content of counterculture journalism was dominated by radical politics, psychedelic art, the drug culture, social services, and protest. However, changes in the counterculture itself during the 1970s have been reflected in the underground media as well, with less revolutionary posturing and more attention to writing styles and stances which approach conventional standards.

Alternative broadcasting. During the 1970s, novel approaches to broadcast programming and practice began to challenge establishment domination of networks and stations. Technological changes, particularly low-cost cable television, ushered in the New Journalism of the electronic era, which "is still a bit formless, still groping for a distinct role, but it is providing an alternative" (Dennis & Rivers, 1974, p. 173). Much of this "gadget-laden form of communication" lags behind technological developments in the field, but its unrealized potential poses the central question of "whether human beings will organize themselves to utilize [the available technology]" in humanizing ways (p. 183).

Precision journalism. In contrast to the celebrated subjectivity and personal style of other New Journalists, precision journalists pride themselves on their "scientific objectivity." In an interview in 1970, precisionist Ben Wattenberg claimed:

> I like to think that we are the new new journalism--journalism which is not subjective but which is becoming more objective than ever before. We've got the tools now--census, polls, election results--that give us precision, that tell us so much about people. Yet, at precisely the time when these tools have become so exact, the damned New Journalists have become so introspective that they're staring at their navels. The difficulty is that when you put in tables you bore people (Dennis & Rivers, 1974, p. 11).

According to Dennis and Rivers, the subjectivity of many New Journalists that "disturbs" conventional journalists, "horrifies" precision journalists. At a time when New Journalists attempt to convert the reporter into an artist, precisionists admire the reporter-scientist who uses the latest social science research tools to investigate social events and issues.

These "thumbnail sketches" of the different forms of New Journalism have been provided as background for discussing how the techniques of one brand of New Journalism--the new nonfiction--can be applied to curriculum research and evaluation. Consequently, the remainder of this review of New Journalism will concentrate on the characteristic features of the new nonfiction and the suitability of this literary nonfiction genre for describing and critiquing the classroom experiences of participants in a social studies program.

Characteristic Features of New Journalist Methodology

The style, language, and form of the "new nonfiction" which emerged during the 1960s reflect two basic, often contradictory strains within New Journalism. On the one hand, New Journalism is a literary development, reflecting the efforts of some magazine writers, journalists, and novelists "to draw literary effect from nonfiction materials, to render literature from reporting, art from fact" (Weber, 1974, p. 14). On the other hand, it is also a journalistic attempt "to bend the stultifying conventions of traditional journalistic practice and to extend the range and power of nonfiction writing" (p. 17).

As a result of this dual interplay of forces in two traditions, New Journalism differs from conventional reporting practices in two basic ways: 1) changed attitudes toward the reporter's relationship to the people and events described; and 2) radical transformation of the style and form of reportage through the use of fictional devices borrowed from the novel and the short story (Hollowell, 1977, pp. 22-32). Although critics argued that the personal style and the fictional techniques distinguishing New Journalism had roots in earlier American writing, the coalescing of these forces in the 1960s marked a widespread "outlaw" attitude toward traditional formulas and conventions which encouraged in-depth reporting and the freedom to experiment with literary devices.

According to Wolfe (1973, pp. 31-34), at a time when many fiction writers were abandoning social realism in favor of such narrative forms as transfiction and nonfiction, through trial and error, journalists began to discover the fictional techniques that gave the realistic novel its extraordinary powers of magnification and illumination. Wolfe identifies the four main literary devices applied to factual materials as: 1) scenic construction, 2) extensive dialogue, 3) third-person point of view, and 4) status-life symbols. Hollowell (1977, pp. 24-33), in his discussion of these literary devices, adds two more that are used by some New Journalists: 5) interior monologue, and 6) composite characterization. Hollowell also suggests that for more dramatic impact, New Journalists sometimes resort to flashbacks, foreshadowing, inverted chronology, and various other literary techniques.

Scenic construction. One of the most important devices borrowed by New Journalists is "scenic depiction," or the dramatic reconstruction of experience as it unfolds from scene to scene. According to Henry James, such scenic portrayal of events rather than the usual historical summary is the distinguishing feature of the novel. Using this technique of creating a dramatic scene, Wolfe, in his article "Radical Chic: That Party at Lenny's" in New York, June 8, 1970, begins with a graphic description of Bernstein's insomniac vision. This prepares the reader for the ensuing action--the incongruous mingling of Park Avenue "radical chic" with Black Panthers at Bernstein's anti-war protest party.

Extensive dialogue. Space limitations and the usual "inverted pyramid" format restrict the conventional news coverage to occasional direct quotes and anecdotes, unlike the fully developed dialogue common to New Journalism. Yet, as novelists well know, realistic dialogue is a powerful device for engaging the reader. More than any other single literary device, dialogue is a quick, effective way of establishing and defining character. For example, in a Life article, "The Detective," by James Mills, December 3, 1965, extensive dialogue captures the "tough cop" talk of a New York city police detective on his beat. Similarly, Wolfe's use of street talk and onomatopoeia in "Mau-Mauing the Flak Catchers" (Wolfe, 1973, pp. 387-394) not only captivates the reader, but it also communicates the menacing presence of black militants from the San Francisco slum area in the process of intimidating an officious white civil servant "flak catcher."

Point of view. New Journalists, freed of literary and journalistic conventions, use "point of view" in inventive and complex ways, "presenting every scene to the reader through the eyes of a particular character, giving the reader the feeling of being inside the character's mind and experiencing the emotional reality of the scene as he experiences it" (Wolfe, 1973, p. 32). In the writing of some New Journalists, the personal "I," a first-person point of view, conveys a strong sense of "I was there"--a common feature in autobiographies, memoirs, and some novels. However, other New Journalists have preferred the "omniscient eye," a shadow, slipping unannounced from scene to scene, character to character, in the manner of the all-knowing novelist. Still other New Journalists have shifted from third-person to first-person point of view, sometimes within the same scene, confident that the reader will know that "all this actually happened" (Wolfe, 1973, p. 34).

Status-life symbols. The recording of concrete details of people's customary patterns of behavior and of their material possessions and surroundings has long been a fictional technique used to achieve precise characterization. This "entire pattern of behavior and possessions through which people express their position in the world" is symbolic of their status life (Wolfe, 1973, p. 32). New Journalists who gravitated toward this realistic device in order to show the reader the reality of lived experience have achieved an unusual degree of psychological depth and insight that can place people and issues into a broader social context of analysis and interpretation. For example, in Rex Reed's 1968 interview with an aging celebrity, Ava Gardner, his uncanny eye for social detail in describing her appearance, behavior, and physical surroundings disclosed her continuing demand for star treatment

(Reed, 1973, pp. 56-64).

Interior monologue. New Journalist claims to have penetrated the inner reality of a character's mind sufficiently through interviews and prolonged contact to enable presentation of a scene through her/his eyes have aroused much criticism. However, the use of interior monologue by some New Journalists, such as Gay Talese, is even more contentious. Talese, who uses this technique frequently, insists that thorough research and close knowledge of a person enable him to write about a character's inner thoughts and attitudes without the interruption of conventional direct quotes. In a panel discussion on New Journalism, printed in Writer's Digest, January, 1970, Talese stated that throughout his book The Kingdom and the Power (1970), he had people "thinking" things. What he wrote about their thoughts was accurate because during interviews with different people he had asked them what they had thought about in particular situations (Robinson, 1974, p. 70).

Composite characterization. The telescoping of character traits and anecdotes from several sources into a single representative sketch is a literary device often used in New Journalism. Such "composites" allow the journalist to compress documented evidence from a variety of sources. However, the technique must be supported by careful research and interviewing of many subjects. New Journalist Gail Sheehy uses the device effectively in her book on prostitution called Hustling (1974), which opens with a sketch of "Redpants," a composite figure who represents several Times Square prostitutes. Defending the technique of composite characterization against charges that it is dishonest and that it deludes the reader into believing that the character is a real individual, Sheehy (1974, pp. 40-41) argues that "the function is to present the life while protecting the privacy of perfectly decent people."

Some Qualitative Approaches to Curriculum Evaluation

Traditionally, curriculum and educational evaluation practices were directed toward the measurement of student status and progress, with much time and attention devoted to the construction, administration, and interpretation of student test scores. With the development of more sophisticated strategies and instruments, the concept of evaluation was expanded to include assessment of the quality of curriculum programs and materials and of instructional performance and effectiveness. Recent trends in education, however, like the accountability movement, mark a return to the use of achievement test scores as a criterion for measuring and comparing program quality, teaching performance, and student learning outcomes (Barone, 1980, p. 30). The purpose of such evaluation activities, it has been argued, is to provide educational policy-makers with the data needed to decide whether a particular program should be adopted, continued, revised, or terminated.

Criticism of the prevailing engineering paradigm in curriculum evaluation has been increasing in the last decade. Based on the premise that traditional and contemporary approaches to evaluation are generally reductionistic and quantitative in their reliance on tests or behavioral objectives, a number of educators have attempted to develop a complementary tradition that would elicit and report qualitative and holistic information about integral sets of educational phenomena (Barone, 1978).

Portrayal evaluation of participant experience. According to Barry MacDonald, a number of educators--Eisner (1975), Stake (1972), Smith and Pohland (1974), House (1973), Parlett and Hamilton (1972), and Kemmis (1976)--have become part of a "counter-culture" in curriculum evaluation "which takes the experience of the programme participants as the central focus of investigation" (MacDonald, n.d., p. 51). Like the New Journalists in the 1960s, these "portrayal-oriented" evaluators are critical of the dominant practices and traditional conventions in their field. Portrayal evaluation, an attempt to bridge the gap between the arts and the social sciences, seeks new ways "to create and convey images of educational activity which both preserve and illuminate its complexity" (p. 51). MacDonald, who sees a striking similarity between the aspirations of the New Journalists and portrayal evaluators, suggests that curriculum evaluation can develop a "technology of portrayal" by borrowing the necessary linguistic skills and devices from New Journalism.

Using the four main literary techniques identified by Wolfe (1973) as central to New Journalism, MacDonald finds interesting parallels between the New Journalistic style of reporting and Rob Walker's portrayal evaluation of the perceptions, feelings, and responses of teacher-participants in a centralized curriculum innovation project set up in Britain in the 1960s. Walker's paper (1976), delivered at the AERA Conference in 1976, is a narrative account of teacher involvement in a case study of organizational change. Basically an interview story cast against a minutely observed and described social setting, Walker's report uses scene-by-scene construction, realistic dialogue, a third-person point of view, and details of a subject's status life.

From the journalistic point of view, such "thick description" can "heighten the reader's sense of involvement, his feeling of being there;"

however, in curriculum evaluation such vicarious or surrogate experience is secondary to the generalizability of portrayal data of educational instances (MacDonald, n.d., p. 54). Although adequate descriptions of individual cases are not meant "as a basis for prescription and external control of educational activities whose particular contextual configurations are unknown," MacDonald contends that portrayal of single cases still can lead to generalization if evaluation reports are distributed along a horizontal rather than a vertical pattern (p. 55). By shifting the burden of responsibility for generalizing from the outsider to the insider, from the evaluator to the practitioner, different members of the audience can attend to the experiences and judgments of persons in the portrayal whose roles and role-sets most resemble their own and can use the insights gained from such accurate portrayal to inform their own actions.

MacDonald identifies the common features shared by portrayal evaluators and New Journalists.

> They share a specificity of focus, an interest in persons, as opposed to people, a concern for contextual detail, an aspiration to create vivid images of complex human events. Both are drawn, as we have shown, to the devices of the realist school of fiction (MacDonald, n.d., p. 55).

However, unlike the novelist dealing with fictional characters, both journalists and evaluators deal with subjects who are real people, either publicly known or traceable. Therefore, disclosing intimate details about their actions, values, and perceptions can have serious social consequences.

Such portrayal in evaluation studies is particularly problematic because the contents of the evaluation report may do more than illuminate--they may be used by decision makers to increase their control over the persons who have been portrayed. MacDonald disagrees with Wolfe's disregard for consequences. According to Wolfe (1973):

> Most good journalists who hope to get inside someone else's world and stay there awhile come on very softly and do not bombard their subjects with question. . . . But, again, it is mainly a matter of one's own personality. If a reporter stays with a person or group long enough, they--reporter and subject--will develop a personal relationship of some sort, even if it is hostility. More often it will be friendship of some sort. For many reporters this presents a more formidable problem than penetrating the particular scene in the first place. They become stricken with a sense of guilt, responsibility, obligation. "I hold this man's reputation, his future, in my hands"--that becomes the frame of mind. They may begin to feel like voyeurs--"I have preyed upon this man's life, devoured it with my eyes, made no commitment myself, etc." People who become overly sensitive on this score should never take up the new style of journalism. They inevitably turn out second-rate work, biased in such banal ways that they embarrass even the subjects they think they are "protecting." A writer needs at least enough ego to believe that what he is doing as a writer is as important as what anyone he is writing about is doing and that therefore he shouldn't compromise his work (Wolfe, 1973, p. 50).

In examining another case study of portrayal evaluation of persons, the British National Development Programme in Computer Assisted Learning (NDPCAL) set up in 1973, MacDonald discussed reactions to evaluation reports using portrayal of key project members. Although strong reservations were expressed about such personalized accounts, MacDonald maintained that portrayal reports including personalities and their influence on events can close the gap in the decision-makers' information about the personal dimension of a program. Because persons are embedded in the contexts of their work and effects are impregnated by contexts, MacDonald argued that omitting such accounts of how effects, contexts, and persons interact in particular situations eliminates an important source for understanding a program in operation and for assessing its potential (p. 64). Nevertheless, portrayal evaluators should keep in mind that although the literature stresses the significance of case studies and portrayal evaluation for illumination, some members of the audience may not receive the information in this spirit. Unless the portrayal was negotiated and subjects participated in a collaborative evaluation, dissemination of such reports beyond the subject audience should receive their active consent (MacDonald, n.d., p. 65).

Toward an aesthetic framework for curriculum criticism. Thomas Barone (1978, 1980) also advocates using the skills and techniques of New Journalism in curriculum evaluation. Like Barry MacDonald and others of the portrayal evaluation school, Barone insists that the major focus in curriculum inquiry should be on the experiences of participants. Barone's proposal to reorient curriculum evaluation away from its current concern with testing and measurement toward "curriculum criticism" is in the general direction suggested earlier by others such as Huebner (1965); Mann (1969); Westbury (1970); Willis (1975, 1978); Kelly (1975); Eisner (1975, 1977, 1979); McCutcheon (1976); and Vallance (1975, 1977).

Contributions to the developing conceptual framework for curriculum criticism have included: 1) Huebner's "aesthetic rationality" as a means of deriving categories of meaning in a classroom activity; 2) Mann's coining of "curriculum criticism" as a way of "talking about curriculum as if it were a literary object," his development of a "curriculum stock in trade," and his use of "disclosure models" to illuminate the set of meanings embedded in a curriculum design; 3) Willis' analysis of the correspondence between "focal points" in literary criticism and "elements" in curriculum; 4) Kelly's use of concepts from literary criticism to develop a "rhetoric for the curriculum" for the purpose of criticism; 5) Eisner's concepts of "educational connoisseurship" and "educational criticism;" and 6) Vallance's translation of seven techniques from art criticism into guidelines for the critical description of curriculum materials. To this growing body of conceptual and methodological tools, Barone adds the concept of the "experienced curriculum" and suggests facets from "New Journalism" can be used to critique an experienced curriculum.

New Journalist reporting of curriculum experiences. Barone (1980) defines the "experienced curriculum" as:

> those events experienced by a particular student, by a set of students, or by the preponderance of students in a classroom. A discussion of the experienced curriculum does not consist of an examination of a set of plans or of chosen materials; it is a critique of the manner in which students apparently perceive various aspects of classroom situations and events, and of how they respond to, and help shape, those situations and events (p. 30).

Three major tasks or phases are involved in critiquing the experienced curriculum. Barone (1980, p. 31) describes these as: 1) developing an empathic understanding of the experienced meaning of a curriculum for students through vicarious participation in classroom activities, 2) assessing the significance of such classroom experience for the educational lives of students, and 3) communicating to an audience information about the features of classroom experiences in a manner that discloses their essence while preserving their integrity. Addressing himself to the third phase, the reporting of classroom experiences, Barone suggests the use of techniques adapted from a particular field of literary nonfiction known as New Journalism.

Locating both aesthetic criticism and New Journalism within the genre of literary nonfiction, Barone (1980, p. 32) claims that New Journalism is also a form of criticism which shares two distinctive features with aesthetic criticism. The first characteristic of literary nonfiction displayed by both aesthetic criticism and New Journalism is the "artistic mode of expression" which combines "language that is often evocative and metaphorical, but sometimes denotative and linear as well" (p. 33). The second characteristic shared by both aesthetic criticism and New Journalism is the "patterning of information about phenomena" that aims for both "accuracy" and "intensification of feeling" (p. 32).

Since the process of experiencing involves the qualitative response of a whole human organism to a situation, a qualitative portrait of the patterns within classroom experience calls for language that is not only denotative and linear but also connotative and holistic. While maintaining a structural isomporphism with the patterned qualities perceived in the classroom setting, an artistic disclosure or "rendering" of a classroom experience requires a blending of two kinds of languages. Criticism aims at public disclosure of the qualitative aspects of some aesthetic object or mode of human performance that does not rob the experience of its vitality (Eisner, 1979). Resolving this paradox in criticism does not mean translating, in a literal sense, what is known in a visual mode into a discursive mode. Translating, used metaphorically, means creating a "rendering" of a situation, object, or event which points out its significant aspects. Kozloff (1960) states:

> For what criticism proposes to give, I think, is essentially an account of an experience, and never, as is sometimes supposed, a substitute for an experience. Though ideally it must be

> self-sufficient as prose, it can never be a stand-in for what has been perceived, lest it compromise a metaphorical with a literal fiction. Indeed, criticism's merit lies exactly in the fact that it is neither a work of art nor a response, but something much rarer--a rendering of the interaction between the two. Best then, that it reconcile itself to virtual rather than actual meanings, the ambiguity of symbolic reference as opposed to the pidgin clarity of signs (p. 10).

American aesthetician Susanne Langer (1957) has argued that only works of art possess the articulative power needed to disclose the affective aspects of experience, or the character of "inner life." Langer insists that:

> The actual felt process of life, the tension interwoven and shifting from moment to moment, the flowing and slowing, the drive and directedness of desires, and above all the rhythmic continuity of our own selfhood, defies the expressive power of discursive symbolism. The myriad forms of subjectivity, the infinitely complex sense of life, cannot be rendered linquistically, that is, stated. But they are precisely what comes to light in a good work of art (Langer, 1957, p. 132).

The notion that there are multiple ways of knowing and of expressing what is known is a commonplace in the philosophy of art. In contrast, most North American educational research and evaluation activities, historically rooted in behaviorist psychology and operationalist philosophy, have tended to deemphasize nondiscursive knowledge. Yet both discursive and nondiscursive ways of knowing are essential to human understanding of reality. Ernest Cassirer in An Essay on Man (1953) shows how a scientific perspective without art or an artistic perspective without science can result in "monocular vision." Depth perception or "binocular vision" combines a scientific focus on the general across particulars with an artistic focus on the uniqueness of particulars. Moving in two different planes, these contrasting views of "truth" do not conflict nor do they contradict each other. Instead, science and art are complementary modes of experiencing reality. Just as depth of human perception requires both eyes for seeing, so does the depth of human experience require both ways of knowing.

Mann (1969, pp. 31-33) also is critical of the common dichotomization of "objective" and "subjective" knowledge, particularly the tendency to associate the former with science and the latter with art. Mann argues that such objective-science and subjective-art schemes are not only inadequate but also erroneous, as numerous treatments of the subject have shown.[1] Both scientist and artist are committed to "universality of intent." That is, each engages in creative activities, aspects of of which are rule-governed, but in both cases their activities are directed by an "all pervasive and dominant personal component." However, their use of personal knowledge is not self-serving, for in both science and in art, intellectual freedom is constrained by "universal intent."

In Western education there has been an historical emphasis on a propositional mode of knowing, expressed through language that stresses discourse, sequence, and logic. Yet, there is mounting evidence from such diverse disciplines as philosophy, anthropology, neurophysiology, and neuropsychology that human knowing is bi-modal; that is, that the propositional mode is complemented by an appositional mode characterized by "metaphoric constructs, holistic relationships, and the capacity to hold many variables simultaneously" (Rico, 1976). Just as logic is central to propositional thought, metaphor is a generic expression of appositional thinking. According to Rico (1976):

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[1] Mann directs the reader to Ghiselin's (1952) collection of essays on the creative process; Einstein's (1961) assertion that "informed imagination" is at the heart of theoretical physics; the classical poets' claim that art is founded on "objective imitation of nature" (Abrams, 1958); Polanyi's (1958) look at the role of personal knowledge in science and art; and Kubie's (1961) psychoanalytic views on the creative process.

> Metaphor functions through a reorganization or partial dismantling of existing structures--linguistic, visual, conceptual--in order to synthesize in new ways. It economically represents the joining and transformation of dissimilar experiences into symbols, creating new levels of meaning. Without a significant capacity for metaphor, individuals cannot readily be creative, respond aesthetically, respond to humor, share inner states, or tolerate ambiguity, especially in the arts, since these require conceptual flexibility for organizing phenomena in non-habitual ways.

As an expressive or nondiscursive form, a work of art is a metaphor--suggestive, connotative, qualitative, rather than methodical and denotative. Literary artists, such as playwrights, novelists, and poets, use metaphor to express the ineffable, composing and shaping human experience into what Langer calls a "semblance" (Barone,1980, p. 32). Using metaphoric imagery, a writer can re-create for readers a particular classroom atmosphere, evoking the rhythms of transpiring events through a syntax of phrases, clauses, sentences, and paragraphs.

Similarly, a critic of an experienced curriculum seeks to reveal particular essences or qualities, creating a disclosing form that conveys the subjective experiences of the students and the lived-in complexity of the classroom setting. Metaphor, an important device in the transformation process, breaks the bonds of conventional usage of language and creates startling combinations that can awaken the senses and reveal new meanings. Both artistic and critical language tend to rely on the use of presentational rather than representational symbolic forms, informing by intimation (Eisner, 1979, p. 201). In conventional discourse, representational symbols act as signposts, pointing toward qualities, but not possessing those expressive qualities within themselves.

In contrast, presentational symbols use poetic forms to generate the excitement of the actual experience. According to Eisner (1979, p. 201):

> "Listen, listen to the bird" is a literal discursive expression, but "Hark! Hark! the lark!" contains the energy absent from the former. . . The former is a conventional utterance, the latter is poetic.

However, a qualitative portrait of the experienced curriculum calls for a blending of language that is not only evocative and metaphorical when conveying the "wholeness of experience," but also denotative and linear when needed for interpretation and assessment. Both the talents of the writer and the sophistication and literary sensitivity of the audience will determine the ultimate compositional style of the curriculum critique (Barone, 1980, p. 33). How to weave together the interpretative and theoretical passages with the lived-in experiential sequences without damaging the "mood" of the critique remains problematic, with little advice available from New Journalism which is not concerned with explicit analysis or global theorizing (Barone, 1980, p. 49).

This raises the second issue involved in New Journalist reporting of classroom experiences: the way "factual" evidence is used and evaluated in the final report. In literary nonfiction, the traditional fact/fiction dichotomy has broken down under the onslaught of new literary forms in recent years (Zavarzadeh, 1976). However, unlike the literary artist, an educational critic is not free to disregard literal truth. According to Barone (1980):

> If such an educational portrait is to be convincing, especially to those familiar with the particular research scene, then not least of its virtues must be accuracy. Its characters and setting must be real, not virtual. Their descriptions should consist of a host of personality indicators, of physical attributes and characteristics of human behavior, in actual incidents, recorded comments, and so on (p. 34).

A critic using New Journalistic reporting techniques selects, interprets, and shapes "factual" evidence collected during a prolonged period of observation and "vicarious participation" in an actual classroom or school setting. While honoring aesthetic criteria, such an educational portrait of classroom experience must use "actual, particular, specific phenomena confronted in the research setting" (Barone, 1980, p. 33). While departing from the canons of traditional educational research, an educational criticism of the experienced curriculum must present a credible, descriptive, and appraisive account of what is basically a "played-out," four-dimensional aesthetic "object"--human performances that are more like plays or dances. "These occurrences are not the outgrowth of a single 'mind,' but emerge out of the complex interactions of a whole community of organisms, each of which perceives the ongoing events from his or her own existential perspective and responds accordingly" (Barone, 1980, p. 36). New Journalism, as a branch of aesthetic criticism, offers some possible tools for critiquing these "real" events.

Applying Aspects of New Journalism to Curriculum Criticism

The aesthetic "objects" that can be critiqued using New Journalist techniques are the "lived" experiences of social actors as they transact with curriculum materials in a classroom setting. Barone (1980, pp. 37-50) discusses four broad facets of content and style that can be effectively portrayed using New Journalist techniques and devices. These facets are: theme, landscape, character, and plot.

Theme. Focus is a primary concern in observing, interpreting, assessing, and reporting the phenomena of classroom experiences. The evaluator of the experienced curriculum must determine which experiences are "educative," "mis-educative," or "non-educative" in terms of their profound and probably lasting consequences for the students. This search for the qualities of classroom experiences can suggest a theme or themes for structuring the critique. "A theme," according to Barone (1980, p. 38), "is a central insight or controlling idea that gives unity to the complex operations of appreciation and disclosure in an investigation of this kind." This "unifying concept" orders the experiences of the inquirer by providing a focus for investigating and writing about the complexity of classroom phenomena.

In addition to a central, controlling idea, concept, or search image that contributes coherence and integrity to the narrative portrait, a critique of classroom experiences can show evidence of the intended or unintended presence of certain "grand themes" relating to the study of human beings. Nisbet (1976) has identified several master themes in sociology: order, the individual, freedom, and change, from which have emerged sub-themes such as community, authority, status, the sacred, and alienation. Such "conceptual imperatives" or "cultural categories" form part of an individual's perspective in a culture, but do not account for the entire perspective of an individual in an existential situation (Barone, 1980 p. 39).

Characterization. A portrait of classroom experiences should develop the main characters in all their complexity, disclosing their inner thoughts and feelings and their prevailing motives for behavior. The focus may be as limited as the unique personality of an individual child or as broad as the character of the classroom atmosphere. Several students may be selected to portray a variety of classroom characters, or the life process of one child may be used to "typify" the others in classroom setting.

Whichever tactic is employed, each personality must be vividly portrayed, using the New Journalist technique of recording the "status-life symbols" or patterns of behavior and possessions used by individuals to express their unique position in the world. Barone (1980, pp. 41-46) suggests that such symbolic details include: 1) comportment (what students do), 2) commentary (what they say), and 3) products (what they make). By describing how people act in specific situations, New Journalists create "apertures into their thought-processes through which the reader is allowed to peak" (p. 45). Similarly, student "makings," their grooming and clothing, and what they choose to possess and implant in their immediate surroundings provide revealing insights into their developing characters. Student commentary in the form of realistic dialogue is another effective device for disclosing personality.

Landscape. The classroom setting or "educational landscape," as seen from a particular perspective, should present a "fashioned picture of the human and material surroundings that help shape and (since experiences contain an active as well as passive element) are shaped by the educational lives of the children" (Barone, 1980, p. 46). What is educationally important and thematically relevant should be included in this highly personal picture of the classroom milieu.

Since experience is an interactive process, people's needs and their environmental "press" act upon and shape each other. This complex and dynamic interface between personalities and a particular setting requires "thick description" that can capture the mood of the place and can provide a background for the unfolding events. Because of the intimate connection between landscape and theme, "the depiction of the landscape must both feed and be fed by the theme" (Barone, 1980, p. 48). Perhaps the outcomes of such writing which uses New Journalist techniques to portray the character of an educational setting or landscape will provide educators with new conceptual handles for grasping the significance of educational environments in the educational lives of children.

Plot. In fictional writing, plot provides a pattern of movement within the narrative that distributes the dramatic intensity of the narrative and depicts the order of reality envisioned by the writer while simultaneously sustaining the interest of the reader. In a portrait of classroom experiences, the plot, or sequence of events, must be arranged in some order that flows logically and has artistic unity (Barone, 1980, p. 48). Situations observed can be arranged chronologically so that events unfold with the existential inevitability that informs actuality. However, borrowing techniques from New Journalism, some critics may prefer to use a semi-chronological approach which combines scenic construction with flashbacks and other diversions to illustrate important connections or to provide interpretive commentary on significant events.

Educational critics can experiment with a variety of arrangements of interpretive and theoretical passages and vivid descriptions of lived experiences. One possible plotting technique suggested by Barone (1980, p. 49) is to segregate the evocative literary description from the discursive interpretive analysis. Another device for arranging the sequence of events is the use of the "journal" format in which "natural" boundaries (similar to chapter or section headings) help shift from descriptive to analytical writing modes. Still others may prefer a nonchronological plotting approach for sequencing their insights into classroom experiences.

Barone (1980, p. 50) warns that "existing examples of New Journalism should not be taken as precise 'models' for approaching curriculum criticism." While many facets of New Journalism have the potential for generating insights into the qualitative aspects of classroom experiences, there are at least two limitations in applying New Journalistic techniques in curriculum criticism. The need to ensure anonymity and to protect the privacy of individuals depicted in the report raises ethical issues that are often disregarded by New Journalists. There is a need to supplement a New Journalistic descriptive account with an assessment of the educational significance of the classroom experiences.

An Interpretive Framework for Understanding Classroom Experiences

While New Journalism suggests useful tools for disclosing qualitative information about the experiences of students and teachers transacting with a set of curriculum materials in a classroom setting, its theoretical underpinnings remain unexplained. The phenomenological sociology of Alfred Schutz offers an appropriate interpretive framework for examining the concept of "experience" and for developing a "genuine subjective understanding" of the nature of classroom experiences with curriculum.

The concept of experience.

In curriculum theory there has been a long-standing confusion about the meaning of "experience" and its various conceptualizations. After a comprehensive analysis of the concepts of experience developed in some major works in curriculum theory during the period 1918-1970, Willis (1971) found that the term "experience" has been commonly used to refer to the reactions of individual students to educational operations, or to the interaction between student reactions and educational operations. However, considerable confusion surrounded the degree to which the concept of "educational experience" should include both empirically verifiable and non-verifiable student reactions. Another point of confusion was how to achieve operational consistency between educational practice and both kinds of student reactions.

In developing a conceptual rationale for applying a qualitative approach to classroom inquiry, Barone (1978) explicated the concept of experience in the following manner:

> The stream of experience of a student in a classroom is seen as consisting of a string of individual "life-experiences," each composed of an "inner," "conscious," "meaningful" aspect, and an "outer" side consisting of manifestations of the "inner life." To understand (to some degree) the conscious side, an educational inquirer must interpret the meaning the experience holds for the student, and thereby achieve a degree of empathy with him. But the inquirer must also consider the significance of the experience from another--his own--perspective, and evaluate the impact of that experience. He thus indulges in a "reciprocity of perspective," participating in a classroom scene as a student/observer in order to more fully appreciate the nature of the classroom experiences.

In another attempt to define experience in relation to curriculum evaluation, Barone (1980) stated:

> An experience is a complete reaction of a whole self to a situation confronting it, a qualitative response composed of intellectual and emotional and willful elements. And aspects of a present experience are understood in terms of previous ones--within, that is, a whole psychological, autobiographical perspective. Experience is "holistic," therefore, in terms of both the individual's particular present experience and in the relationships of elements within this present experience to the entire life-process

> of the individual. An evaluator of the "experienced" curriculum must come to know and understand these experiences. What is required, first, is empathic understanding, the vicarious participation in a form of life as manifested in a particular pattern of actions. It is the achievement by the inquirer of a degree of intersubjectivity (always a degree), an approximate re-creation of another's point of view through "interpreting the real world," as Schutz (1962) put it, "from the perspective of the subjects of his investigation" [p. 7] (p. 31).

Like Barone, Helmut Wagner (1970) based his definition of experience on the phenonomenological sociology of Alfred Schutz. According to Wagner:

> The basic starting point of all phenomenological considerations is the essential actual, or immediately vivid, experience, that is, the subjective, spontaneously flowing stream of experience in which the individual lives and which, as a stream of consciousness, carries with it spontaneous linkages, memory traces, etc., of other, prior, experiences. Experience becomes subjectively meaningful experience only by an act of reflection in which an essentially actual experience, in retrospect, is consciously apprehended and cognitively constituted. In the course of his life, a person compiles a stock of experience, which enables him to define the situations in which he finds himself and to guide his conduct in them (Wagner, 1970, p. 318, emphasis in the original).

Schutz's concept of experience is a synthesis of Edmund Husserl's "method of phenomenological reduction" and his theory of "noema and noesis," William James' explorations of the "stream of consciousness," and Henry Bergson's investigations of the experience of "inner time" (durée) and "outer time" (cosmic time) as measured by clocks (Wagner, 1970, p. 14). According to Schutz, both James' psychological research and Husserl's phenomenological meditation begin with the existence of a personal consciousness within which thought is continuous and changing, much like a river or stream. This "through-and-through" connectedness, states Schutz, is the essence of the inner personal life (Wagner, 1970, p. 57).

Using Bergson's distinction between living within the stream of consciousness (a continuous coming-to-be and passing-away of heterogeneous qualities) and living within a spatial-temporal world (homogeneous time, spatialized, quantified, discontinuous), Schutz showed how the structure of our experience varies with our surrender to the durational flow (Bergson's pure durée), or our pausing to reflect upon it and to conceptualize it spatio-temporally (Wagner, 1970, pp. 60-65). Human acts according to Schutz, also can be seen in this double aspect: as enduring conscious processes, or as frozen, spatialized, completed acts. The difference between flowing experience in pure duration and the discrete, discontinuous images in a space-time world is a difference in two levels of consciousness.

For Schutz, Ego, in everyday life, lives in a space-time world. However, if the "psychic tension" is relaxed, Ego discovers that what appeared separate and sharply defined dissolves into continuous transitions. Fixed images are replaced by a "coming-to-be and passing-away," with no contours or boundaries. Immersion in a stream of consciousness or flow of duration means encountering undifferentiated experiences that melt into each other. Attempts to analyze process or to separate out individual experience from this durational unity appear artificial and alien, a carrying over of spatial-temporal concepts to a radically different durée.

Nevertheless, Schutz argues that only an act of reflective attention reveals the retentional modification of each Now that differs from its predecessor but retains it. From the perspective of a being immersed in duration, each Now is a phase, not a point, with different phases melting into each other along a continuum in a unidirectional, irreversible movement or stream. However, in reflecting upon the living experience, the experiences are brought out, becoming objects of attention or constituted experiences, and a phase turns into a full-blown experience. Thus, Schutz states: "Only a past experience can be called meaningful, that is, one that is present to the retrospective glance as finished and done with" (Wagner, 1970, p. 63).

Both Bergson and Husserl stressed the importance of bodily movements as experienced on two planes: as movements in the outer spatial-temporal world, and as happening changes experienced from within as manifestations of our inner durée. For Schutz, it is through our bodily movements that we perform the transition from inner durée to outer cosmic or partial time. We experience our working actions as simultaneous events in both inner and outer time, as unified into a single vivid present at the intersection of durée and cosmic time. The working self, living in this vivid present, experiences itself as an undivided, total self, but in reflection, the self turns back, becomes a partial self--a role taker, Me (Wagner, 1970, pp. 69-71).

Intentionality. Taking as his starting point the stream of experience of the thinking Ego, Husserl (1967, p. 113) viewed "consciousness," which is both the means to and the object of phenomenological investigation, as a region of being which is in principle unique. According to Husserl:

> consciousness is always consciousness of something: there are thus two complementary aspects to consciousness: first, the process of being conscious (the cognito) which may take different forms (remembering, perceiving, evaluating) and second, that which is the object of consciousness (the cogitatum). However, the phenomenologist's investigation of consciousness is done by a special method, the phenomenological reduction, which attempts to lay bare a realm of being ("pure" consciousness)

> that remains untouched by the reflection we carry out in our natural attitudes (Phillipson, 1972, p. 123).

Husserl's theory of noema and noesis approaches James' principles of experience. "Noesis" (experiencing) and "noema" (the experienced), as used by Husserl, refer to the complementary aspects of intentionality: the mode of intentional consciousness, and the objective correlate. Describing the objects of consciousness (noema) and showing how they are built up or constituted (noesis) are the methodological tasks of phenomenology (Phillipson, 1972 pp. 124-125).

Husserl's inquiry into the realm of pure consciousness is known as the method of "phenomenological reduction" or epoche. Husserl began with an explanation of the characteristics of psychological experience as "lived-in" acts which can be revealed only through reflection. His next step was to reveal the insight into the intentionality of consciousness; that is, cogitations as being consciousness of something--the intentional object. Each experience is not just consciousness, but it is also determined by its consciousness of an intentional object. Types and forms of intentionality can be described within the natural attitude, or within the phenomenological reduction. The natural attitude in everyday life accepts unquestionably the surrounding world of facts. However, we can "bracket" our belief in it by refraining from any judgment of its spatio-temporal existence, setting it "out of action". Using epoche, we "bracket" all the common-sense judgments of everyday life as well as natural science propositions. What remains after bracketing is the "stream of our experience," our cogitations and their intentional objects, which are "appearances or "meaning." The final phase of the phenomenological method, transcendental reduction, reveals the purity of the stream of consciousness (Wagner, 1970, pp. 55-60).

Life-world and intersubjectivity. The term "life-world" is what Husserl uses to talk about the world toward which the intentional consciousness is directed (Phillipson, 1972, p. 125). Life-world can be defined as:

> The whole sphere of everyday experiences, orientations, and actions through which individuals pursue their interests and affairs by manipulating objects, dealing with people, conceiving plans, and carrying them out (Wagner, 1970, pp. 14-15).

For Husserl, the life-world is also an "intersubjective" world containing three main features: it is a given world, a practical world, and a social world. In a critical analysis of the concept of "life-world," Philip Pettit (1975, pp. 254-255) describes these features:

> The world is given in the sense that it is pre-theoretical and prepredicative; how anything appears to an individual does not depend on his theorising or even his judgment. . . . The life world is practical in the sense that which features are given significance by [a series of pre-selected common-sense constructs] is determined by people's practical interests. . . . Finally, the world is social in the sense that each individual assumes, as a matter of practice, that the constructs which shape how he sees things also shape how others see them (Pettit, 1975, pp. 254-255).

Husserl contended that the act of phenomenological reduction or bracketing can be performed on another self, thereby extending the reductive method from one's own self-experience to other selves. However, the notions of life-world and intersubjectivity remained ambiguous in Husserl's thought, gaining central importance only in his later writings (Phillipson, 1972, p. 125). Furthermore, Husserl's attempts to solve the problem of intersubjectivity on the level of transcendental phenomenology ended in failure (Wagner, 1970, p. 10).

Schutz, a disciple of Husserl's, adapted and broadened the phenomenological concepts of life-world and intersubjectivity, synthesizing them with his own clarification of Max Weber's famous concept of Verstehen or understanding. After prolonged and intensive study of Husserl's writings, Schutz rejected Husserl's attack on the problem of intersubjectivity. Schutz argued that intersubjectivity was not problematic in the life-world where the individual takes for granted the existence of other human beings, endowing the sensory configurations of the other with psychological life. For Schutz, this "world of the natural attitude" (life-world) is a social world, constructed by the individual with the help of others, in which the individual's efforts to understand the surrounding world interplay with the cognitive prestructurization of this world by other predecessors (Wagner, 1970, pp. 72-76). The conduct of any individual within this world is circumscribed by a long chain of prior life experiences. This physical and sociocultural environment (the biographically determined situation) provides the individual with a "stock of knowledge" that serves as an interpretive scheme of past and present experiences and provides a means of orientation within the life-world. However, this stock of knowledge can vary structurally; in any particular situation, some of its elements may be relevant or irrelevant, precise or vague, coherent or contradictory.

Reciprocity of perspectives. Schutz's discussion of intersubjectivity and mutual understanding in a "communicative common environment" (Wagner, 1970, pp. 163-217) is based on analysis of some fundamental aspects of sociality. His thesis of the "reciprocity of perspectives" involves two idealizations or taken-for-granted rules of social life: 1) the interchangeability of standpoints, where we assume that our ways of experiencing the world would be identical if we changed places and 2) the congruency of the system of relevances, where we assume that although our unique biographically determined situations may differ, for all practical purposes we can disregard any differences in our systems of relevances.

General thesis of the alter ego. Another dimension of intersubjectivity described by Schutz is the "general thesis of the alter ego" which seeks to provide a frame of reference for describing some aspects of the ways we experience the "other" in the "vivid present" (Wagner, 1970, pp. 166-183). In the naive attitude of daily life in which our actions are directed toward objects such as other people's behavior or thoughts, we grasp the other's subjective stream of thought in its vivid present (alter ego) without stopping the flow, experiencing it simultaneously with our own stream of consciousness. In one sense, our knowledge of the other, limited to the span of life and its manifestations open to our observation, seems less than our own self-knowledge which includes recollections of a past conscious life. In another sense, however, this sharing together of each other's thoughts and acts in the vivid present means that although we can experience the other's thoughts and actions in the vivid present, our own can only be grasped as a past, by way of reflection. In other words, I can know more of the other, and the other can know more of me than either can know of her/his own stream of consciousness.

Grasping the other's stream of thought, the subjectivity of the alter ego in its vivid present, is a simultaneous sharing of the same vivid present. However, there are ambiguities in this ordinary understanding of the other: sometimes it means my lived experiences of you, at other times it means your own subjective experiences (Wagner, 1970, pp. 168-175). In the natural attitude, understanding the world comes from explicating one's own experiences of it; however, transcending this sphere is possible only when perceived changes in the other person are regarded as lived experiences of another consciousness. The meaning-context into which the other's lived experience is classified is always only an "approximate value," because "we can only interpret lived experiences belonging to other people in terms of our own lived experiences of them" (Wagner, 1970, p. 170). However, understanding of the other self is not limited to cases where other people are bodily present in a directly experienced social reality (Umwelt), for understanding of other selves can extend also to more distant contemporaries, and can include empirical information about historical predecessors.

Understanding of the other. Schutz's analysis of "the understanding of the other person in the social world" begins at the lowest level of self-explication present and available for interpreting the behavior of others. He uses one example of an action without communicative intent and then another example of an action whose meaning is declared through signs (Wagner, 1970, pp. 171-175). In the first case, the observer's first interpretation is that the bodily presence perceived and interpreted on the basis of the observer's own experience is that of a human being not an image. The second level, still an interpretation of the observer's own perceptions, focuses on the other's bodily movements and their effects as an indication that the person is alive and conscious. However, on the third level of interpretation, the observer's attention shifts to an understanding of the other person's lived experience.

In the second case, where signs are used, the observer first focuses on the bodily movements of the speaker to determine whether it is a real person not an image as in a motion-picture film. Then, still using the interpretation of the observer's own experience the observer's attention shifts to the perception of the sound in order to discover whether it is real or recorded. Moving further, the observer can identify the specific pattern of sounds produced as an ordered scheme of definite meanings, and, based on the observer's own knowledge of the language spoken, can understand the meaning of the word. However, genuine understanding of the other involves grasping the meaning of the word as an indication of the speaker's subjective experiences--what the speaker meant by such utterances.

Genuine subjective understanding of the other person. Schutz's "genuine subjective understanding of the other person" (Wagner, 1970, pp. 175-184) has several important implications for this study of classroom experiences. When observing actions performed without any communicative intent, Schutz says that the observer, knowing nothing about the actor except what is perceived, can plot out in the mind's eye how she/he would carry out the same action, projecting the other person's goal as if it were the same as the observer's; or, the observer can recall in concrete detail how she/he once carried out a similar action. Although this resembles the well-known "projective" theory of empathy, Schutz argues that the empathy theory is erroneous on two counts:

> First, it naively tries to trace back the constitution of the other self within the ego's consciousness to empathy, so that the latter becomes the direct source of knowledge of the other. Actually such a task of discovering the constitution of the other self can only be carried out in a transcendentally phenomenological manner. Second, it pretends to a knowledge of the other person's mind that goes far beyond the

> establishment of a structural parallelism between that mind and my own (Wagner, 1970, pp. 176-177).

For Schutz, such imaginative projection of the "in-order-to" motive of the other person as if it were our own and then using such an imagined carrying-out of action provides only a self-interpretive scheme for a reflective analysis of another person's completed act. In a directly observed situation where the observer-observed are in an attuned simultaneity, the observer's living intentionality makes such constant playbacks or imaginary actions unnecessary because the other person's action unfolds, step by step, before the observer's eyes. In this common "We-relationship," the observer keeps pace with each step of the observed person's actions, identifying with the latter's experiences. However, an adequate model of the observed person's subjective experiences requires a wider context of meaning than just the other's bodily movements. More reliable conclusions can be drawn if the observer knows something about the other person's past and about the over-all plan into which a particular action fits.

According to Schutz, "genuine subjective understanding of the other person" involves treating the other person's expressive movements and expressive actions as indications of the other's lived experiences. By "expressive action" Schutz means:

> One in which the actor seeks to project outward. . . the contents of his consciousness, whether to retain the latter for his own use later on (as in the case of an entry in a diary) or to communicate them to others. In each of these two examples we have a genuinely planned or projected action. . . whose in-order-to motive is that someone take cognizance of something (Wagner, 1970, p. 178).

Expressive acts are distinguished from what psychologists call "expressive movements"--behavior such as gestures and facial expressions without explicit communication intent. For the observer intimately involved in a meaning-context with the observed where the subjective experiences of both flow simultaneously, such expressive movement can be treated by the observer as an indication of the lived experiences of the person being observed. Understanding other people's acts requires some grasp of their "in-order-to" or "because" motives. Since ideal "motivational understanding" is impossible because it presupposes full identity of my stream of thought with that of the alter ego, "it is sufficient to find typical motives of typical actors which explain the act as a typical one arising out of a typical situation" (Wagner, 1970, p. 181). However, where an action involves the attitudes and actions of others and is oriented to them in its course, the prototype of all social relationship is an intersubjective connection of motives: the "in-order-to" motive of a question becomes the "because" motive of the answer.

Thesis of the reciprocity of motives. Schutz's thesis of the reciprocity of motives is complemented by his thesis of the reciprocity of perspectives, a concept used by Barone (1978) to mean participation by the inquirer in the classroom scene in order to "more fully appreciate the nature of the classroom experiences." For Schutz, such simultaneous involvement in a communicative common environment or face-to-face situation constitutes a temporary "elliptical We-relationship": one situation, two subjective perspectives. Each participant in the situation reasons that if she/he were in the other's place, she/he would experience the common situation from the other's perspective, and vice versa--a reciprocity of perspectives (Wagner, 1970, pp. 33-34; pp. 183-195). If only one participant in a face-to-face situation is aware of the presence of the other, a one-sided Thou-orientation prevails; if both participants are mutually aware of each other, a temporary We-relationship exists, constituting a usually sympathetic participation in each other's lives.

The observational method in sociology, however, which advocates a "disinterested" or "detached" observer role places the direct observer outside the on-going interaction or We-relationship. Such a one-sided Thou-orientation toward the other actors requires an indirect interpretation of their motives, using transpositions into the roles of the interacting partners, or resorting to preestablished typifications, or inferring from the observed acts what motives would account for them (Wagner, 1970, p. 35). Taking the movements, words, and so forth of the person being observed as evidence of a person's conscious experience, Schutz argues:

> as a direct observer I can thus in one glance take in both the outward manifestations--or "products"--and the processes in which are constituted the conscious experiences lying behind them. This is possible because the lived experiences of the Other are occurring simultaneously with my own objective interpretations of his words and gestures (Wagner, 1970, p. 196).

Although such indications of the inner life are revealed to the observer in the congruent environment of the observer and the observed, the situation differs from that of a face-to-face relationship where correspondence between the two conscious experiences can be verified by a direct appeal to the other. Thus, the direct observer's interpretation of another's behavior cannot be checked against self-interpretations unless the observer becomes a participant and asks questions of the observed--abandoning the observer role (Wagner, 1970, p. 196). In seeking to discover the genuine because-motives of the other, the direct participant begins with data that are more vivid than that available to the direct observer.

In direct observation of social relationships rather than observation of individual behavior, according to Schutz, the observer also falls back on self-knowledge of previous experiences of social behavior in general, of this particular social relationship, and of the particular partners involved. However, Schutz states:

> the observer's interpretive schemes cannot be identical with those of either of the partners in the relationship for the simple reason that his modifications of attention differ from theirs in a fundamental way. Moreover, he is aware of both of them, whereas they are aware only of each other. It can even happen that he knows one of the two people better than the latter is known by his partner and, therefore, is better acquainted with his interpretive scheme. Thus, the nonparticipating listener can realize that two partners to a discussion are merely talking past one another, whereas they themselves may be totally unaware of this. On the other hand, the observer is at a disadvantage as compared to the participants: since he is not always sure of the in-order-to motives of one participant, he can hardly identify them with the because-motives of the other (Wagner, 1970, pp. 198-199).

CHAPTER III

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

KANATA KIT I: THE INTENDED CURRICULUM

Kanata Kit Project

Background

In his address to the Alberta Legislature on October 24, 1977, the Honourable Julian Koziak, Minister of Education, proposed an investment of $8,387,000 from the Capital Projects Division of the Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund to assure additional development and distribution of Canadian-content learning resources for Alberta schools. Following legislative approval, this project became known as the Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project under the direction of the Curriculum Branch of Alberta Education.

The Kanata Kit Project, one of six components of the Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project, was designed to create multi-media learning resource kits featuring Canadian content in social studies. Through the cooperation of teachers and school boards across Alberta, sixteen multi-media packages were developed and produced for distribution to all Alberta elementary and secondary schools. Twelve kits, originally developed under the auspices of the Canadian Content Project, were revised to be congruent with the 1978 Alberta Social Studies Curriculum, Interim Edition and with the criteria of the Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project. These twelve kits were then incorporated into the sixteen Kanata Kits.

The Kanata Kits derive their name from a word of Indian origin.

> These kits have been called Kanata, from a word of Indian origin--which was associated with our country in the writing of Jacques Cartier. In 1534, he referred to the new land as "Kanata," which in the Huron language meant "village" or "community" (Alberta Education, 1979, p. iii).

Rationale

In keeping with the general objectives of the Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project, the Kanata Kits' content reflects the Canadian content portion of the social studies. The multi-media materials required the cooperative efforts of numerous Alberta educators, parents, and students, and provided an outlet for the talents of editors, authors, illustrators, graphic artists, actors and actresses, and film producers from Alberta and other parts of Canada. The Kanata Kits provide one of the major content resources complementing the 1978 Alberta Social Studies Curriculum, Interim Edition.

Structure

Based on the student-oriented inquiry model used in the social studies curriculum, each Kanata Kit has been structured according to a common unit format composed of: Part I, Opener; Part II, Research; Part III, Conclusion; and Part IV, Final Evaluation. These organizing elements correspond to the process of inquiry model which has been divided into sub-processes. In Part I, students develop awareness of a value issue, become motivated to study the issue, and develop research questions or hypotheses. In Part II, which is the major portion of the unit, students assemble and evaluate research data related to the issue. In Part III, students resolve the issue by applying appropriate decision-making and action strategies. In Part IV, final assessment of student progress complements on-going teacher evaluation of student learning.

Each main part of the unit is preceded by an Overview statement of purposes, content, and processes. Each Activity follows a standard format consisting of: Intention, Objectives, Materials, Procedures, Follow-up and/or Evaluation. Although the number and length of Activities vary from kit to kit, all kits are designed for a minimum of six to eight weeks of student inquiry.

Stages of Development

According to L.A. Weigl, Development Coordinator, Kanata Kits Project, each Kanata Kit passed through a number of stages.

> The content area for each kit was thoroughly researched and a conceptual framework was then outlined. Following the outline, a development draft(s) was prepared. This draft, when considered to be in a near-completed state, was subjected to curriculum and content validations, and revisions were made on the basis of these reports. Simultaneously, the material was piloted by classroom teachers, who also made suggestions for modifications. Teams who had developed materials under the auspices of the 1975 Canadian Content Project were invited to review the Kanata Kit materials and make suggestions for further improvement. Media development, often entailing the use of professional scripters, photographers, audio-technicians and actors and actresses, was also undertaken. Finally, copyright clearances for the use of any previously developed materials were obtained, and the kit was edited. This detailed, complex process helped ensure the accuracy and practicality of the kit materials (Weigl, 1979-1980, p. 13).

Two documents: "General Criteria for Development of Kanata Kits" and "Unit Format and Process of Inquiry" contained the guidelines for the development and validation of each Kanata Kit. These general criteria were established to ensure that each Kanata Kit:

1) would be an exemplary curriculum resource
    a) internally consistent, i.e., linkages among intents, activities and content
    b) adequate and accurate treatment of subject matter

  - c) generates excitement and holds interest of teachers and students

2) would be congruent with the 1978 Alberta Social Studies Curriculum, Interim Edition
   - a) primary focus on a value issue
   - b) help learners understand a significant social problem
   - c) help learners develop characteristics of sensitivity to human and natural environments
   - d) contribute to the development of significant social inquiry skills
   - e) incorporate social action skills
   - f) help students acquire basic knowledge of significant ideas from history, geography, social sciences, as well as aspects of literature, art and music.

3) would reflect a broad understanding of Canadian Studies
   - a) accommodate Symons' Report criteria
     - -identity--who are we?
     - -time (present)--where are we in time?
     - -space (geography)--where are we in space?
     - -past (history)--where have we been?
     - -future--where are we going?
     - -resources--what do we possess?
   - b) help learners to be responsible as Canadians and as part of the world community.

4) would be congruent with current social studies practice
   - a) outlines objectives which are definite and functional, rather than grandiose and all-inclusive
   - b) includes social science research methods, i.e., surveying, interviewing, polling, and document analysis
   - c) allows for integration of current events
   - d) presents multiple viewpoints
   - e) utilizes primary resources

(Alberta Education, n.d.)

Kanata Kit 1: Canadian Families
Do We Know Each Other?

Organization of the Unit

This unit is based on Topic C: Canadian Families, in the Grade 1 Social Studies program as outlined in the 1978 Alberta Social Studies Curriculum, Interim Edition (Alberta Education, 1978, p. 20). Topic C "provides students with their first formal orientation to Canada as a multicultural society." While cultural differences are explored, the major common elements that all Canadian families share are featured in Kanata Kit 1.

Kanata Kit 1 uses the social inquiry model to investigate the major value issue: Should all Canadian families reflect a common lifestyle? Stated more simply for students, the major value issue is: Should all Canadian families be the same? This major value issue has been divided into two sub-issues: 1) Should Canadian families all live the same way? 2) Should Canadian families preserve their cultural traditions? These sub-issues are explored through a variety of activities outlined in the unit (Appendix A).

Five major concepts--foods, homes, work, fun, and traditions--provide the focus for student inquiry into the contemporary lifestyles and experiences of Canadian families, including the students' own. Real families from five different cultural groups in Alberta were interviewed and photographed for the purpose of producing instructional materials for this unit. To ensure a degree of anonymity, pseudonyms replaced their surnames in this unit. Exclusive use of middle-class, urban, two-parent families is a recognized limitation of the kit; however, teachers are encouraged to bring out the diversity of family structures and cultural groupings in their own classrooms. Numerous activities suggest ways of involving students' family experiences and lifestyles.

Activities dealing with the theme of multiculturalism are designed to develop an awareness in students that there is a range of diversity within each cultural group and that each individual or each family belonging to a particular cultural group reflects only a portion of the totality of the group's culture. Nevertheless, each cultural group does have some unifying historical experiences that contribute to its members' collective sense of belonging and identity. In addition, in order to establish a Canadian national identity, attention must be paid to the unifying common elements within the pluralistic Canadian society.

The Kanata Kit 1 unit is developed through twenty-four activities, which are organized around a social inquiry model (Appendix B). Part I (Opener) is designed to help students become aware of the major value issue stated previously. During the Opener activities, students are assisted in developing research questions and in choosing alternative hypotheses that will guide their inquiry.

Part II (Research) is designed to involve students in gathering and evaluating data about Canadian families. Follow-up activities attempt to communicate the diversity of family lifestyles in Canada by including ways of studying the students' own families.

Part III (Conclusion) is designed to help students refocus on the issue and to plan and carry out an action project. After this project has been completed, the students should reflect on what they have learned and on how they have learned.

Part IV (Evaluation) does not contain any formal final evaluation of student learning. Instead, on-going or process evaluation is an important component of this unit. In Part I, students complete a simple pretest of their attitudes toward other cultural groups. The same attitudinal device is repeated in the final activity in the unit. A student self-evaluation checklist for assessing group participation is included in Part I and can be reproduced for use in assessing other group work participation in the unit. Similarly, the Project Activities Rating Scale in Part II is designed to assist the teacher in observing the participation of group members; it can be reproduced for use in observing other group behavior situations. The Dramatic Activities Checklist provides a simple device for assessing class dramatizations, and the Role-Playing Rating Scale can be used by the teacher to record and evaluate role-playing performance by individual students. In Part III, a simple rating scale allows students to record their own food-tasting reactions. In the final activity of the unit, several informal evaluation techniques are used to assess student reactions to what they have learned (content) and to how they have learned (process of inquiry). Students are also given an opportunity to re-examine their earlier choices of hypotheses about Canadian families and to make a decision about Canadian family lifestyles.

Overall Statement of Objectives[1]

Value After completing this unit, students should demonstrate growth in:

- understanding that there is a diversity of cultural origins among Canadian families;
- identifying some similarities and differences in the life-styles of Canadian families from different cultural groups;
- developing an awareness of how a knowledge of cultural traditions can help people understand and appreciate traditions that differ from their own.

Knowledge After completing this unit, students should develop an understanding of the following concepts and generalizations:

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[1] The Overall Statement of Objectives for Kanata Kit 1 has been taken from the Teacher's Guide for Kanata Kit 1, pp. xii-xiii).

- Perspective. Although Canadian families share the same basic needs, the ways they meet these needs may differ because of individual, family, or cultural preferences.
- Environment. Environmental influences such as climate and geography can influence the way in which people meet their basic needs.
- Tradition. Canadian families may have unique cultural traditions that reflect differences in their pasts.
- Adjustment. Canadian families may choose to preserve some traditions or to create new traditions in adapting to the Canadian environment. Canadian families are developing some similarities in their lifestyles through cultural borrowing and diffusion.

Skill After completing this unit, students should develop proficiency in:

- paraphrasing a value issue in simpler terms;
- formulating research questions and choosing between a set of alternate hypotheses as a means of guiding inquiry;
- observing and listening to resource materials about different Canadian families;
- tabulating and graphing the cultural origins of students in the class;
- summarizing information in chart form;
- creating a plan of action such as inviting groups to share aspects of their cultures;
- expressing a personal point of view regarding similarities

and differences in Canadian families.

Kanata Kit 1 Contents

Quantity per Kit	Components
1	Teacher's Guide
51	Study Prints
30	Student Masters for duplication
2	Posters
5	Family Origin Labels
4	Audiotapes: 8 stories
1	Audiotape: Five Musical Selections
5	Transparencies
1	Game: Discovering Alberta (gameboard, die, and markers)
1	Set Unassembled Livingroom Furniture
1	Mighty Moose Puppet

Scheduling Student Activities

Kanata Kit 1 offers a variety of activities which provide an opportunity to integrate social studies with other subject areas. The time needed to complete an activity may vary, depending on student maturity and background experiences. Some activities may take two or more lessons to complete; others may be completed in one lesson. The estimated time needed to fully implement this unit is a minimal six to eight weeks.

In planning how to schedule or select activities that best meet the needs of their students and match available time, teachers may wish to consider the following alternatives:

1) Some of the activities can be integrated with the Language Arts, Music, Art, Mathematics, or Physical Education programs.
2) This unit could be extended into the remaining one-quarter class time available for inquiry into social issues.
3) Core activities based on research using the kit materials can be selected for implementation.

CHAPTER IV

KANATA KIT 1 IN THE CLASSROOM: THE EXPERIENCED CURRICULUM

Prologue

For approximately four months, from January 21, 1980 to May 8, 1980, I was a daily visitor in the classroom of Merle Johnson[1] and her grade one students at Palisades Elementary School.[2] While observing and recording how this teacher and her class transacted with a set of social studies curriculum materials known as Kanata Kit 1, I also witnessed everyday life in a grade one classroom. As the study went on, the unfolding events, which provided a context for the curriculum-in-use, led to my distinction between "the intended curriculum" and "the experienced curriculum."

Seldom do research reports indicate how the initial perspective of a researcher shifted or changed during the course of a study. Instead, the final account of what transpired is usually a rational, linear, reconstructed - logic presentation that adheres to conventional research traditions. Consequently, much of the dynamic, dialectical quality of what is involved in researching remains concealed.

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[1] In New Journalist reporting, people usually appear under their own names. In research studies, for legal and ethical reasons, pseudonyms are used to maintain the anonymity of the subjects. In this chapter, the real names of persons involved in the reported events have been replaced with pseudonyms. However, the persons described are not invented "characters" nor "composite figures" as in fictional writing. They are real individuals who are depicted contextually in their existential uniqueness and changeability.

[2] The real name of the school has been replaced by a pseudonym in this chapter.

Because of my experiences as a curriculum developer with the Kanata Kit Project, I became interested in finding out how the materials which I had helped develop were perceived and used within a real classroom setting. This vague interest in what Ast called the "hermeneutical circle" (Palmer, 1969, p. 77) can be seen as "foreshadowed problems" in the early stages of my research. Like Winnie-the-Pooh, I walked round and round in a circle, "thinking of something else."

> "Hallo!" said Piglet, "what are you doing?"
> "Hunting," said Pooh.
> "Hunting what?"
> "Tracking something," said Winnie-the-Pooh very mysteriously.
> "Tracking what?" said Piglet, coming closer.
> "That's just what I ask myself. I ask myself, What?"
> "What do you think you'll answer?"
> "I shall have to wait until I catch up with it," said Winnie-the-Pooh (Milne, 1957, pp. 37-38).

The research process has been divided into phases, using the headings suggested in conventional participant-observation research reports. During the pre-field work stage, I followed the recommended procedures as outlined in the review of literature on the methodology of participant observation. Before entering the field setting, I was involved in a period of negotiation for entry that I have included as part of the research process. These steps have been made into sub-headings in the first part of the report.

However, when I entered the classroom, I soon threw away much of the "conceptual baggage" and concentrated on becoming a sensitive, perceptive research instrument. With the teacher's permission, I took running notes throughout the entire observation period, using an audiotape cassette recorder occasionally during the latter part of the research. The "jotted notes" were expanded into full notes at the end of each day before beginning the next period of observation.

In reporting my understanding of the classroom experience, I use New Journalistic techniques which I had discovered late in the study. The metaphorical and literary headings were suggested by my reading of the field notes during the final analysis.

The Pre-Field Work Phase

The Initial Focus

In education, field researchers planning to use observational methods to study classroom phenomena are expected to enclose an initial problem statement in their request for official permission to conduct research in a school or classroom setting. In this study, the request for permission to conduct "a participant-observation study of teacher use of support materials in social studies" was submitted to the official "gatekeepers" of the Elmwood Public School District[1] on December 20, 1979. The formal request contained the following description of the proposed research activity:

> Planning for change in social studies education is difficult because of the relative lack of understanding of how classroom teachers actually interpret and use ideas embedded in new curricula and related support materials. The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze a grade one classroom in which a teacher and pupils are engaged in implementing a multi-media kit designed to complement the newly-revised Alberta social studies program.
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> A grade one classroom will be directly observed for approximately four months (from January 1980 to

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[1] A pseudonym has been used instead of the real name of the school district in this chapter.

> April 1980) using participant-observation methodology. Depending on situational constraints and participant receptivity, other techniques also may be used, such as in-depth interviewing, unobtrusive measures, life history reports, and documentary analysis.
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> For the purposes of this study, a grade one teacher is required who: 1) intends to use the Kanata Kit 1 materials in the second term; 2) has about 10 years of teaching experience; 3) has tenure with the school system; and 4) is not currently involved in additional professional activities in the classroom, such as student teaching, coordinating or leading workshops, demonstrating lessons, etc.
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> The researcher would like to begin the study as early as possible in the second term, preferably by mid-January 1980. During this period, some teachers may be planning to use other teaching units or resources to teach Topic B of the grade one social studies program before starting on Kanata Kit 1 [based on Topic C .] However, the researcher would like to use this pre-implementation period to acquire a feeling for the context of the classroom.

In the rationale for the study, I argued that a classroom observation study could provide curriculum developers with "insights into classroom realities affecting curriculum implementation and use of related materials." For the research community, "participant-observation studies in education provide a positive alternative to conventional research approaches." Becoming involved in "a meaningful research relationship" could provide an opportunity for teacher "input into the curriculum decision-making process." Furthermore, such teacher involvement could lead to "increased teacher awareness of tacit pedagogical assumptions about learners and the learning process."

Locating a Research Site and Gaining Access

Shortly after school opening in the fall of 1979, I contacted the elementary social studies consultants for the Elmwood Public School District, requesting a list of grade one teachers who might be willing to participate in a classroom observation study of their use of Kanata Kit 1 social studies materials. Each teacher would be contacted informally and a meeting would be arranged to discuss joint teacher-researcher concerns. Following these initial contacts, a formal request would be submitted, suggesting the names of those grade one teachers who had permitted their names to be used as potential research subjects. Each teacher, however, when contacted by the research department, retained the option of deciding for or against becoming involved in the study. Responsibility for the final selection of a grade one teacher lay with the official "gatekeepers."

Criteria for selecting grade one teachers included: 1) those who were not teaching "split grades" (more than one grade in a classroom); 2) those who had about ten years of teaching experience; 3) those who had tenure; 4) those who planned to use Kanata Kit 1 in the second term; 5) those who were not involved in other professional activities in the classroom; and 6) those who were considered "competent" by their colleagues in the teaching profession. Since gaining access to a grade one classroom for a prolonged period of observation and developing rapport with a classroom teacher were of vital importance to the study, the issue of probability sampling was not a concern in locating a suitable research site.

Because school opening in the fall often constitutes a busy period for most school personnel, including system consultants, it was not until the end of September 1979 that I was supplied with a list of eight elementary schools, along with the names of ten different grade one teachers and their respective school principals. As a first step, the consultant stressed the importance of contacting each principal and of explaining the informal nature of the proposed meeting with the teacher. With the exception of one teacher, none of the others on the list had been approached about the study. Their names had been compiled with the help of social studies coordinators in the Elmwood school system who were familiar with various school settings in their respective areas.

Meanwhile, during the months of September and October 1979, I prepared for observational field work by reading and reviewing some of the materials on the principles and methods of participant observation and some case studies of field research in the social sciences and in education. During this same period, through frequent contacts with the Kanata Kit Project office, I learned of the delay in the scheduled distribution of the Kanata Kit 1 materials, now slated for dissemination to the various school systems in the province during the latter part of November 1979.[1]

Before meeting with the teachers, I wanted to know what in-service activities were available for teachers who were not familiar with the new social studies materials being produced by the Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project. From the Elmwood social studies supervisor, I learned that there were no system-wide plans for orienting teachers to the Kanata Kits.[2] According to the supervisor, much of the orientation occurred at the local school level. This was generally a workshop held on a professional development day, and the session was conducted by the social studies consultants for the school system, upon request for such services from the principal and staff at a particular school. Thus, depending on staff priorities, it was possible that in some of the Elmwood schools teachers would have received no preparatory assistance in their use of new support materials such as the Kanata Kits.

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[1] Telephone conversation, November 23, 1979, with Brett Mallory (pseudonym), Kanata Kit Project employee, who indicated that copies of Kanata Kit 1 would be sent to the central office of the Elmwood Public School District on November 26, 1979. Each school system assumed responsibility for distributing the kits to the schools.

[2] Telephone conversation, October, 1979, with Bob Brown (pseudonym), Elmwood Social Studies Supervisor.

Faced with these unexpected delays in Kanata Kit 1 distribution and with the unanticipated diversity in system orientation procedures for introducing new programs and materials, I decided not to postpone research plans any longer. During the first two weeks of November 1979, school principals on the list were contacted by telephone and arrangements were made to meet with the teachers. The following excerpts from the field notes, recorded immediately after each telephone transaction, indicate negotiations for gaining access and locating a research site during the pre-field work stage.

School #1. Called school at 10:00 A. M. Secretary said principal at meeting, but would be back in the afternoon.

Called again, 1:45 P.M., same day. Principal answered phone. Introduced myself, described nature and purpose of the proposed participant-observation study, and explained how name of school, principal, and teacher had been supplied by social studies consultant in compliance with my request.

Principal recalled discussion held earlier with social studies consultant; principal and grade one teacher had been expecting my call. Warm, friendly voice. Called grade one teacher to the phone. We arranged meeting for Monday noon, November 26, 1979 (her suggestion). Teacher invited me to spend afternoon, after the noon meeting, in her classroom.

Warmth of teacher/principal interest and reception led me to consider possibility of suggesting classroom visits when arranging meetings with other grade one teachers.

School #2. Called school at 10:00 A.M., day after calling School #1. Asked for principal. Call transferred to principal, who, after listening to my introductory remarks (same as with School #1), said he would have the grade one teacher call me at home number supplied.

Teacher did not call. No further contact with the school.

School #3. Called school at 10:12 A.M., day after called School #2. Female voice (school secretary?) informed me principal not in office but taught classes at 11:00 A.M. and 3:00 P.M. daily. Suggested I call shortly before any of those two class periods. "You'll be sure to nail him then," she chuckled.

Called school again, at 2:00 P.M., same day, Spoke to principal who called one of the two grade one teachers nearby to the phone. Teacher suggested noon meeting, December 4, 1979. When I displayed interest in classroom visit, long pause. . . Then teacher agreed I could visit her classroom, but reluctant to commit other teacher. Teacher informed me school began at 8:45 A.M., ended at 3:30 P.M. I suggested visiting one classroom in the morning, one in the afternoon. "We'll work something out," she agreed amiably.

School #4. Called school at 10:10 A.M., day after called School #3. Principal answered, sounded very positive about possible participation in study. Would have grade one teacher call me.

Received call from grade one teacher next day at noon. Teacher arranged meeting and classroom visit (on my suggestion) for Thursday afternoon, November 29, 1979. Told me to arrive at 1:00 P.M. "because the first bell rings at 1:10, and our afternoon classes begin sharply at 1:13 P.M." Teacher suggested meeting after school "because Thursday is the only good day for me that week. . . I have a faculty consultant coming on Tuesday (she explained she had a student teacher in her room) . . . . and we have a staff meeting after school on Wednesday of that week. . ."

School #5. Called school at 10:15 A.M., day after receiving call from teacher at School #4. No answer. Phone rang repeatedly. Called later in morning. No answer.

Called school again that afternoon at 3:15 P.M. Spoke to principal who, listened, then responded with ". . . the school is already flooded with requests, many of the teachers have student teachers. . . . I dunno. . ." After a long pause, principal asked me to leave my number. He would discuss my request with the four [!] grade one teachers at the school. [He added two more names to the two that were already on the list for that school.] "I'll call you back tomorrow on that, okay?" he said.

Principal called back two days later, said teachers willing to meet with me. Demurred when I suggested first week in December, "That's parent interview and report card week. . . the teachers have their hands full at that time." He suggested meeting a week later. "How about, let's make it 12:15 noon, December 13? That's about half an hour. . . That should be enough time, right?" "Right!" I murmured, conscious of not having talked directly to the grade one teachers, so I could not bargain for classroom visits.

School #6. Called school at 10:15 A.M., day after receiving call from principal at School #5. Principal not in, told to call back later.

Called again at 3:25 P.M. same day. Spoke to school principal and received first negative reaction. According to principal, ". . . the school is crawling with researchers." He informed me teacher on the list already "taking part in a language arts study with one of the university profs."

Principal expressed surprise at my informal approach prior to formal permission. When I explained my reasons, he sounded annoyed. However, after some further questioning about the study, he seemed to relent, saying, "Well. . . if you're really in a bind, you can call me back, and I'll see if something can be arranged."

School #7. Called school at 10:17 A.M., day after conversation with principal at School #6. Principal out, but expected back in the afternoon.

Called back at 3:25 P.M. Spoke to the principal who sounded very negative about the study. Queried me, "Have you followed all the proper procedures? Did you contact the research department before phoning me?" he demanded. I assured him that although I had not proceeded in the conventional manner, I was aware of the formal procedures and planned to follow them in due course after establishing informal contact with the teachers. I stressed the need for teacher-researcher rapport in the "research partnership" envisaged, and apologized for "violating the rules."

In a grumpy voice, principal growled, "It's important to do things correctly." More apologies from me. After a few moments, principal suggested, ". . . perhaps, after you've gone through the proper channels, then, maybe. . . you could call me again. I might be prepared to consider your request then. . . It sounds like an interesting study."

Thanked principal for his time. Found remarks very unsettling. Had no intention of continuing contact with him or the school. Negative reaction of last two principals, after the earlier warm reception from others, "threw me for a loop." Decided to avoid possible complications for myself and for the consultant who had supplied the names by confining contacts at this stage to mutually arranged meetings, foregoing any classroom visits until after formal permission granted.

School #8. Called school at 10:30 A.M., day after "talk" with principal in School #7. No answer. Tried again.

Called at 2:00 P.M. that afternoon. Was told that "principal is probably in one of the classrooms. Leave your number and he'll call you."

Principal did not call. No further contact with the school.

School #3 and #4. While waiting for principal from School #8 to call, decided to call School #3 with message to the two grade one teachers "Unable to visit classrooms as planned, but will meet at noon on the day set."

That same afternoon at 3:50 P.M. called School #4. Spoke to grade one teacher and cancelled afternoon visit to her classroom. She agreed to meet after school as planned.

Feeling depressed and dispirited by delays and complications.

As a result of these preliminary negotiations for entry, the original number of potential observation sites was short listed and meetings were arranged with eight grade one teachers at four different elementary schools. During the next phase of entry negotiation, the teachers would be acting as classroom "gatekeepers," a grass roots approach which I believed could help lay the foundation for an amicable research relationship.

Taking a Role

While preparing to move from telephone negotiations to face-to-face encounters, I studied some of the handbooks on participant-observation methodology, but found their "militaristic" stance and instrumental language highly distasteful. While "casing the joint" appeared a highly useful "tactic," it seemed dishonest and manipulative. Nevertheless, during the brief on-site visits and meetings with the teachers, I planned to gather information which would help me decide on the research potential of each site. Furthermore, as a novice field researcher, I was anxious to present a credible impression of myself and of the study during these encounters with teachers in their familiar settings which were beyond my control.

Using Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical metaphor, I "rehearsed" my performance, taking on various roles. First, I asked myself: "If I were a classroom teacher asked to participate in an observation study, what would I need to know about the study and about the researcher as a person before making a decision?" Then, as a researcher, I asked: "In terms of my research needs and of my personal resources, how suitable and how feasible is this particular observation site?" Finally, as a performer, I asked: "Given the lack of prior information about my 'audience' and the 'setting,' what elements in my 'performance' are most likely to help me 'stage the show'?"

Anticipating some of the questions likely to be raised during the face-to-face encounters with teachers, I prepared a mental "script" of what to say, roughly outlined as:

1) Introduction and establishment of research credentials
2) Description of nature and purpose of the study
3) Relation to researcher background interests and experiences in curriculum development
4) Estimate of time needed to complete the study
5) Offer of non-teaching services in exchange for research demands on teacher time and work load
6) Assurances of confidentiality and anonymity.

I expected that reference to the mode of inquiry as "participant observation" would require some definition of the term, as well as an explanation of how "qualitative research" differed from "quantitative research." As simply as possible, I would explain that the method required a prolonged period of observation, during which time I would try to be as unobtrusive as possible so that the teacher and the students could go about their everyday affairs as naturally as possible.

This raised the issue of how involved I would become in the ongoing activities. The observer-as-participant role seemed appropriate to the study so that I could observe the participants and meet my research purposes. However, I also planned to interact with the teacher and students as long as such participation did not disrupt the teacher's plans for the lesson. Since my involvement in the development of the Kanata Kit 1 was a matter of public record (my name appeared on the acknowledgement page along with other people on the team), I would not attempt to conceal my role as a developer, but I would try not to appear the "expert" when the materials were being used.

To avoid deception, I resolved, if asked at any point during the study, to explain how my curriculum development experiences with the Kanata Kit Project had led to my current interest in exploring how classroom realities impinged upon curriculum development and implementation principles and practices. By adopting an observer-as-participant role, I could become a "learner" in a classroom situation. Openness to new experiences could test previous assumptions about what happens when teachers and students encounter new social experiences in a particular classroom confrontation with social studies materials. Instead of monitoring the "fidelity" between the intended and actual use of the kit, I was more interested in seeing how the intended social studies materials were "mutually adapted" during the process of classroom implementation.

Because of the delay in Kanata Kit 1 distribution, I expected queries about the variety of media in the kit, its treatment of social studies content, and its suggested learning activities. Without appearing evasive, I planned to answer direct questions about the kit with a "sketchy" description of its components and format. In attempting to match teacher plans and the topical sequence of prescribed content in the 1978 Interim Edition of the Alberta Social Studies Program, teachers would be asked about what they had done or what they were planning to do in social studies. The Kanata Kit 1 teacher's guide suggested a minimal six to eight weeks to complete the unit. However, I would try to negotiate earlier entry, about a week before the teacher began using the kit, in order to become familiarized with the classroom setting and routines prior to implementation.

At the conclusion of each meeting, the tentative nature of any commitments by either party at that stage would be stressed, and each teacher would be asked whether she would allow her name to remain on the list to be submitted for final approval and selection. Assurances about confidentiality and anonymity would be repeated, with the qualification that whatever was of interest or relevance to the study would be reported. In return for teacher cooperation in the study, I would be prepared to return some services as long as this would not interfere with my data collection and research needs.

Such a "rehearsal" was a recognized attempt to structure the definition of the research situation. However, this preliminary structuring also included an awareness that the persons cast into the role of potential research "partners" would be judging my verbal assertions as well as my appearance and manner in deciding whether they wished to participate in such a classroom observation study. Ultimately, the individual teacher, not the researcher, "held all the cards," and could determine the next phase of the study.

Granting or gaining access to a particular grade one classroom would be based on information about the Other gathered during a face-to-face encounter between the researcher as a potential "guest" and the teacher as a potential "host." Together, teacher and researcher could arrive at a mutually negotiated definition of the reciprocal obligations involved in a research relationship. "Getting in" and "staying in" were crucial elements in this study of classroom experiences with a curriculum.

Presenting Self and Study

The following accounts of teacher-researcher encounters are based on field notes recorded the same day as the social interactions:

INTERVIEW-CONVERSATIONS

School #1	Date: November 26, 1979
Interviewee: Miss Thorpe, Grade One Teacher	Time: 11:50 A.M. - 12:45 A.M.

I arrived at the school just before noon, the morning after the first snowfall of the season. It had snowed all night and was still snowing--big, fat flakes--as I cleaned my boots in the conspicuously dry main entrance. In the central hall, a colorful display of children's photographs trumpeted "Children Are Important in This School" as I stood, uncertain stranger, until rescued by a friendly woman who directed me toward Miss Thorpe's grade one classroom, "the far end of the hallway."

Smiling young children, bundled in bulky winter clothing, waved a cheery "Hi!" as I proceeded past them down the long, bright hallway.

A few children squatted on the floor outside the grade one classroom, struggling with boots and laces. A little girl, fighting back tears, informed me she had lost her mitts. Then, suddenly a tall fair-haired woman, wearing a pencil-slim skirt and frilly blouse, and very high-heeled, fashionable shoes, dashed out into the hall and disappeared into another room.

"No, they're not here," she announced matter-of-factly, her head re-appearing around the doorway across the hall.

"Someone stole my boots!" wailed a miniature astronaut in a navy-blue snow suit. A scruffy pair of bombardier boots lay in a wet puddle near the door.

Stooping, the young woman, peering through long, straight bangs, picked up the boots. "Are you sure these aren't yours, Karen?" she asked.

The child shook her head.

The woman grasped one snow-suit clad leg as she firmly but gently eased the little girl down to the floor.

"They look like mine," Karen muttered, "but mine are brand-new!"

Pushing and pulling, the woman said evenly, "Well, you certainly can't go home in a snow storm without boots! This afternoon, when we get back after lunch, remind me to ask everybody to check the boots very, very carefully."

Turning to another child standing nearby, a mummy wrapped in down-filled ski-doo suit, she said, "Hold your package this way, Anne, so the pictures don't fall out in the snow!" The children moved off slowly. The young woman swirled on her heels and entered the classroom. I followed closely behind, stopping as she peered down at her desk.

Introducing myself, I commented on the disruptive effects the first snowfall could have on a grade one classroom.

"Yeah!" she grinned. "Hi, there! I noticed you standing outside the door, but I thought you were a parent come to collect one of the kids. It's been a hectic morning! I forgot I had a meeting with you. I'm Chris Thorpe."

Swooping the bangs off her face, she gave a quick glance around the room. "Excuse the mess. We've had a busy morning. The snow didn't help."

"I used to teach grade one," I murmured.

"So you understand," she smiled her thanks. "Now, let's see. Where would you like to meet--here, or in the staff room?"

Before I could reply, she added, "We usually go to the staff room for lunch." She looked at me.

"That's fine with me," I replied, hastily. "I've even brought along a sandwich."

Just as I was trying to hide my nervousness, a woman entered the room, carrying a stack of blue papers. "I guess I'm too late," she smiled, looking around the room. "Looks like they've already gone home. . . And I've just brought you the letters about the pictures."

As the two women moved toward the door, Miss Thorpe's tinkling laugh sounded, ". . . sent the pictures home with them at noon. . . . guess the letters will just have to go out this afternoon. . . ." More laughter shared as they chatted.

I glanced around the room, It was a warm, sunny place bursting with color and vitality. Huge life-size body silhouettes of the children, painted in vivid primary colors, paraded around two walls, a few feet below the ceiling. A collage of magazine pictures beckoned from one bulletin board. A flip chart promised a tantalizing story: "My family likes. . . ." Desks faced each other in intimate pairs like gossipy friends sharing a deep secret. In one corner of the room, tiny chairs formed a protective circle around a table piled high with books. Self-portraits of children grinned, jack-o-lantern style, from beneath the chalkboard ledge. Laminated pictures, charts, models, objects invited attention from all parts of the room. Reluctantly, I followed Miss Thorpe out of a room that stretched its arms in welcome.

On our way to the staff room, Miss Thorpe remarked, almost breezily, "What a day! What a day! Snow, pictures. . . Would you believe I also have parent interviews after school today!" However, as we walked on, she said, good-naturedly, "Actually, I don't really mind. Not this year, I have such a good class!"

In the staff room, Miss Thorpe introduced me to the three people seated around a large table which dominated the room. Then, after asking if I'd like some coffee, she took three quick strides into the kitchen where she proceeded to assemble a salad lunch plate. However, the coffee, just freshly made, was not ready. As I waited in the kitchen, uncertain about my next move, a short, middle-aged man entered the kitchen, glanced in my direction, and then walked toward me, extending his hand. He introduced himself as the principal, then inquired pleasantly about the study before leaving the room.

Back in the staff room, I spotted Miss Thorpe seated on one of two lounges, her back to the rest of the crowd around the long table. I joined her. Between bites and chews on my sandwich, I asked her how long she had been teaching grade one ("Six years"), how many students she had ("Sixteen--and they're all 'good,' a really 'super' class! I'm having a really good year--no student teachers. But I am involved quite a bit with EOF.")

While Miss Thorpe finished her lunch, I launched into my "presentation," describing the study as outlined earlier in my "rehearsal." After listening attentively, Miss Thorpe asked when I planned to start the study ("Not until the second term, about mid-January"), then asked how long the study would take ("About six to eight weeks at a minimum, but I would like to begin classroom observations about a week before the actual start on the kit so I can get used to classroom routines.")

"How did you become interested in doing such a study?" Miss Thorpe inquired pleasantly.

After sketching my educational background and experiences, I mentioned, almost casually, "I was also involved, along with other contributors, in developing the kit."

Suddenly, Miss Thorpe stood up, walked over briskly to a nearby set of shelves and brought back a loose-leaf binder. Flipping through, she commented, "I just remembered that I had agreed to pilot one of the Elmwood social studies teaching units on the family for grade one this year. . . I wonder if this will work out." She opened the binder at a page showing a timeline of proposed social studies topics for the year:

Topic A: Me as an Individual ----- Sept/Oct/Nov
Christmas

Topic B: What is a Family? ----- Jan/Feb
Easter

Topic C: ----- Mar/Apr
Kanata Kit

Looking closely at the chart, Miss Thorpe mused aloud, "Hmm. . . . I'd like to deal with the topics in this order, the way they appear in the new social studies. . . . I wonder, why is Topic C blank? I've forgotten what it's about. . . . Anyway, I wasn't planning to get around to the Kanata Kit 1 until after Easter or so. That's probably too late for you, isn't it?"

"Maybe it'll still work out," I offered, explaining that Kanata Kit 1 was based on Topic C, "Canadian Families," as outlined in the new social studies program.

"Well, I've finished Topic A," Miss Thorpe continued, while referring to the timeline. "Right now, I'm about to begin the unit on Christmas. . . That brings me into the second term. . . and I'd still like to do something on the family, Topic B, first, even if the pilot unit is not ready by then. Then, there's Easter somewhere in there. . . . Hmmm. . . ." She looked up. "So, it wouldn't be until maybe sometime in spring that I could consider doing the Kanata Kit."

From her projected plans, it seemed unlikely that her long-range plans fit my research timeline. However, I suggested that I could consult with my supervisor and perhaps postpone the observation period until later in the second term.

"Who's your supervisor?" Miss Thorpe asked. "Oh!" she said, a strange look crossing her face when she heard his name. [My supervisor, at that time, was also chairman of the Elmwood Public School Board.]

During the remainder of our meeting, I offered to exchange non-teaching services for any demands the study would make on teacher time or work load, as long as services did not interfere with my research plans.

Looking interested, Miss Thorpe asked, "Like working in small groups, perhaps?"

"Perhaps," I murmured noncommittedly.

"Well," she laughed, "an extra pair of hands is always welcome in a grade one classroom. There's always so much to do, and so little time."

"You sound rather busy," I prompted. "You mentioned being involved in EOF [Educational Opportunity Fund]. Could you explain that a bit more, please?"

"Yeah," she laughed. "I'm not exactly the type of teacher you may be looking for. Let's see. Thursday, I exchange classes with another teacher, and I'm away a lot doing EOF work. I don't know why, but I'm supposed to show other teachers how to do things. . . " She seemed embarrassed. "By the way, I also have a teacher aide. . . ." Her voice trailed off.

Suddenly, she leaped to her feet after glancing at the clock. "It's twenty after twelve already! I have to be on noon supervision in a few minutes. . . . and I have something I want to do in my room first. . . ." She looked apologetically in my direction as she rushed off to the kitchen.

I thanked her for the time, hastily adding, just as she prepared to leave the staff room, "Would you agree to have your name submitted as a possible participant in the study when I ask for formal permission from the school board?"

"Fine!" she waved, as she left the room, adding over her shoulder, "You'll call me, then?"

I remained in the staff room for a few more minutes, joining in the general banter around the table as different people called out their zodiac signs as a man read out their daily horoscopes from the morning paper. "Today is your lucky day!" he sang out in answer to my request.

But I wondered about the prospects as I donned my coat and went out into the snowstorm.

School #4
Interviewee:
Mrs. House,
Grade One Teacher

Date: November 29, 1979
Time: 3:25 P.M. - 4:15 P.M.

At twenty-five minutes after three in the afternoon, as I proceeded down the front walk toward the school, an imposing, fortress-like citadel plastered with yellow-gold stucco, I fully expected a drawbridge to ease its creaky way down as I crossed the short "moat" separating the school from the public sidewalk. Passing through the narrow front doors, I entered a small hallway. To my immediate right was an office which looked deserted, but as I tiptoed down the hall, I spotted an elderly gentleman, wearing a dark, three-piece suit, seated at a heavy wooden desk placed at right angles to the open door in a dimly-lit office a few feet down the hall.

Tap, tap.

He looked up.

I introduced myself and asked where I could find Mrs. House's room.

The old fellow stood up, told me he was the principal, and added, "Mrs. House is at the far end of the hall. Room 6." He sat down.

As I walked down the hall, disconcerted by the eerie stillness of the place, suddenly children streamed out of Room 6.

"Who are you?" blurted a little girl, eyeing me curiously as I stood outside the door.

"I'm a visitor," I replied, uncomfortably. "I'm here to see Mrs. House." More stares directed toward me as the children poured out of the room and rushed to escape through the nearest exit, tumbling in their hurry to get out.

"I'll be right here," chirped a short, dark-haired woman, poking her head around a door which suddenly opened across the hall. I waited as she went back into the room, closing the door firmly behind her. I recalled that Mrs. House had said something to me on the phone about exchanging classes with another teacher for music period at the end of the day.

A few minutes later, Mrs. House appeared, walking briskly into her classroom after introducing herself with a hand shake and a "Won't you come in?" A quick sweep of the classroom, followed by a determined, "Please sit down," she gestured toward a straight-back wooden chair she had pulled over to a spot about five feet to one side of her desk.

I sat down. Yes'm. Mrs. House.

Mrs. House shuffled some papers piled on her desk and smiled at some children who lingered in the room, struggling with shoe laces or poking at the cubby-hole storage spaces along one wall.

"Hurry, please, boys," she reminded them crisply, as she tightened the belt on her neat black pant suit.

I assured her that I was in no rush. "If you have something you'd like to do first," I suggested, "please go ahead. I'll wait until you're ready."

"Thank you," she murmured politely, fingering some index cards. "I do have something I mustn't forget. . . ." She put the cards down, then picked them up, glancing at me in an abstracted manner. "You remind me of someone. Have we met before?"

To the best of my knowledge, I had never set eyes on the woman before. However, perhaps she was mistaking me for another woman active in the Elmwood Early Childhood Education program--I had been mistakenly identified with that person before.

I mentioned her name.

"That's it!" Mrs. House exclaimed, sounding relieved. "You look so much like her, you know."

She continued to tidy up her desk, rearranging some papers while muttering to herself, "Now this comes first. . . and then that . . . ."

Meanwhile, I glanced about the room.

There was a barren look about the place. The teacher's desk stood along one side of the room, on the same wall as the door leading out into the hallway, and just in front of a small, cracked chalkboard. Five short rows of old-fashioned wooden students' desks stood evenly aligned, facing the teacher's desk. The room was sparsely decorated, with limited chalkboard and display areas. I could see no sign of student work in the room.

"I must apologize for the way they left the room," said Mrs. House, catching my look around the room. Feeling guilty, I looked down. The room was painfully in order. "You tell them and you tell them to put things away, but they still forget. Look at those pencils and erasers."

Where? I wondered, glancing at the desks which looked clean, except for one stray pencil and eraser which I had overlooked before. Just then, a young boy, clutching his toque, appeared in the doorway. He hesitated, looking at the teacher.

"Teacher," he mumbled. "I forgot something. Sorry." A quick nod from Mrs. House, barely noticeable, and he hurried over to the cubby hole area, where he proceeded to rummage.

"What else did you forget?" prompted Mrs. House, just as the boy was about to leave. She repeated, "What else did you forget?" a bit more firmly perhaps, signalling with her eyes.

Puzzled at first, the boy stopped in his tracks, then following her gaze, his eyes lit upon the offending pencil still on his desk. Head down, he pounced on it, shoving it into his desk, then, sheepishly, with a quick look in my direction, he rushed out of the room.

Mrs. House sighed. "See what I mean?"

"How large is your class?" I asked, noticing that Mrs. House was no longer fussing with things on her desk.

"Twenty-five," she responded, moving around the side of her desk, facing me directly. Mrs. House then proceeded to explain how "some of them are just not ready for grade one, while some are more than ready." Warming up to the subject, Mrs. House carried on: "I have a real mixture this year. They're not at all like other grade one classes I've had in the past." She pointed to one of the front desks. "Now, you take this boy who sits here, for example. He was born in India. He's one of twins." Her voice, growing more rushed, sounded agitated. "His parents came over and then they both decided to go to work, they wanted to buy a house, so they decided to send the twins back to their relatives in India." She paused. "Just until they could afford to buy a house, then they planned to bring them back. But, while the boys were there, living with their grandparents, a typhoid epidemic broke out in their village, one of the twins died, he was so sick, and Sanjay, too, came down with the illness. He almost died. But he survived." She took a deep breath. "While they lived in India, by the way, their education was not neglected, they attended an English school. When Sanjay's brother died, his parents brought Sanjay back to Canada. Poor Sanjay," she said, shaking her head as she stroked his desk. "He seems so confused by it all! Most of the day, he just sits at his desk and makes strange noises." Her face clouded over, then, suddenly, it brightened. "However, I've learned that Sanjay loves to sing. He can carry a tune very well. Well, at least that's a start," she added, looking at me intently. "We'll have to work from that, I guess," and shrugging her shoulders, she added, with a sigh, "But it is a real challenge to try to go on with the rest of the class. . . and. . . he's only one. There are others. . . with problems. . . ."

"It must be difficult," I murmured, sympathetically.

"It is. . . ." Mrs. House pulled herself together, "it's really . . . Well, anyway, I thought I'd explain about some of them."

In answer to a direct question about her teaching experience, Mrs. House responded vaguely that she was a "late-comer" to the teaching profession. In the late 1960s, when her children were all in school, she decided to enrol at university. "I've been teaching ever since," she added, then asked me about my own educational background and teaching experiences. I reciprocated, commenting on my own family and my decision to return to university, followed by graduate work, which led to my present interest in the research topic I had come to discuss with her.

With her interest fully engaged, I proceeded to explain the study's focus on classroom observation, adding that starting the observations about a week before the implementation of materials would help me "acquire a feeling for the classroom and school setting." Implementation of the unit was expected to take about six to eight weeks, depending on how much time the teacher allotted to social studies during the week. However, before continuing with the discussion, I asked Mrs. House if she were planning to use the Kanata Kit 1 materials.

"Oh, yes! Of course!" she replied, hastily.

"How does the Kanata Kit 1 unit fit in with your social studies plans?" I asked, none too innocently. Something in her manner warned me not to make hasty assumptions about social studies in her classroom.

Mrs. House seemed slightly uncomfortable.

"What are you doing at present in the social studies?" I prompted, searching for some common ground. Judging from the appearance of the room, there was not much social studies work evident. All I could see was a teacher-made alphabet chart and some number charts below the chalkboards. The rest of the walls were bare.

"Let's see," said Mrs. House, thinking. "We've done some of the Elmwood unit on 'Me,' you know the one. . ." Her voice trailed off. "And we're just about to start into Christmas. It's almost December, you know," she smiled.

"When do you think you might be able to start on Topic C?" I pressed on, while scanning her face. Mrs. House's look said it all. Almost in an aside, I added, "Topic C is what the Kanata Kit 1 is based on. . ."

"Are you familiar with the interim edition of the Alberta social studies?" I asked suddenly.

Perhaps my tone was too sharp, for Mrs. House, sounding apologetic, said, "I should be, I know, teaching grade one. . . But I must confess that I really am not. . . But," she added, brightly, "we're having a man come to talk to us about it next Friday. It's our PD (Professional Development) day and it's supposed to be on social studies, I understand."

When I asked her the man's name, Mrs. House seemed uncertain, but she repeated, somewhat relieved, that the focus was on social studies. "Maybe, after next Friday, I'll know a bit more about the new social studies." I hurriedly explained how my research timelines meant that I would have to begin observations as early as possible in the second term.

"Well," said Mrs. House, after a few moments of reflection, "I haven't done 'Families Around the World' yet, but maybe I could change that a little bit. Maybe I'll know more after I've looked at the kit. When can I see it?"

Following my halting explanation of the unexpected delay in distribution, Mrs. House expressed an interest in "such work," adding that, "I noticed some stuff like that in the office last spring. Although it looked like it was about grade six or so, I was still interested and asked the principal if I could take it home and look at it."

After further questioning, I concluded that Mrs. House had not seen a draft copy of Kanata Kit 1, a possibility which had occurred to me as she spoke about the "stuff in the office" and could possibly have been piloted in that school. Although the Kanata Kit 2 had been in the schools since the spring term, Mrs. House claimed not to have seen it. When I described its physical appearance, she shook her head. "No, that's not what I saw in the office." I assured her that with the number of draft copies of different teaching units "floating around the schools, it's hard to keep track of what's going on."

Looking slightly more at ease, Mrs. House confessed, "I really haven't done much in social studies with this class the year. . . . They're just so different, somehow. . . ."

"Are you ready to leave?" asked a man's voice from the open doorway.

"Not just yet," replied Mrs. House, adding, "that's my husband, he waits for me in the car."

I apologized for taking so much of her time, rushing to conclude the interview.

With a wave of her hand, Mrs. House smiled, indicating there was plenty of time. "He's used to waiting. He does that everyday, but this week has been a bit unusual with parent interviews and a staff meeting."

I stated that in return for time spent on the study, I was willing to exchange non-teaching services, time permitting outside observation demands. "Ideally," I commented, "as a researcher I'd like to be like that fly on the wall, unnoticed, not even buzzing to attract attention."

A smiling, now relaxed Mrs. House asked, "Would there be much time spent writing stuff and filling out forms? What about driving to meetings, and so on?"

Still vague but reassuring, I explained the study would not make inordinate demands on teacher time. As the study progressed, the teacher and researcher would have some interviews, possibly with prepared questions, but for the most part, questioning would be informal, most likely over lunch, and a few minutes after school now and then. After working together, we would be in a better position to arrange a mutually satisfactory schedule. I would mark student papers or run off materials occasionally in return for teacher time on the study.

"Sounds good," laughed Mrs. House. "A grade one classroom can use an extra pair of hands."

Moving toward the door, I added that everything would be anonymous--her name and that of the students and school would appear as pseudonyms.

"Of course," said Mrs. House. "It would have to be that way, wouldn't it, to be valid."

We walked down the hallway together. I asked if she would be willing to let her name stand on the list that I planned to submit to the research department, on the understanding that she could change her mind at a later date when contacted.

"Umm. . . I rather like that," Mrs. House murmured. "Being given a chance to think about it. Quite frankly, if I had been approached about doing the study, my first inclination would have been to day 'No,' but having met you first and learned about the study, your enthusiasm has made me interested too." As we continued down the hallway, she added, "I see this as a chance for professional development for myself. I would benefit from such a contact, especially working with a person of your experience and background. A grade one teacher's world tends to get very, very small, you know, after a few years." She looked wistfully at me as she solemnly shook my hand.

"Have you a family still living at home?" I inquired politely, conscious of her husband waiting in the car.

"Have I a family?" she laughed, repeating my question, as she fell into step beside me and continued to walk with me to the outside door. She had brought up a large family, most of whom were now married and lived away from home. They had experienced both family joys and sorrows, she added. Her bright eyes became momentarily saddened as she related a particular incident.

Saying my good-byes, I hurried through the door, feeling guilty somehow for having kept her husband waiting for her in the car parked at the curb. I felt chilled as I walked through the strange streets to the nearest bus stop. It was a long and tiring ride home from this unfamiliar part of the city, requiring several transfers. Getting to and from this research site daily would be difficult during the winter months.

School #3
Interviewees:
Mrs. Stromberg and
Mrs. Drummond,
Grade One Teachers

Date: December 4, 1979
Time: 11:55 A.M.

Getting to the school, located in a distant area of the city, was an adventure in itself and timing my arrival by bus with the noon break was an even greater challenge. After getting off at the wrong stop, I trudged back through the snow, meeting some upper elementary school students on their way home for lunch. One of them directed me toward a grey, sprawling modern school building across the street from a shopping center. Standing inside the main entrance, a few steps above the offices on the right, I avoided the caretaker's trolley as I carefully cleaned my boots. A woman led a small child, who looked ill, to a row of tiny chairs placed near the front window and assured her that her mother, who had been phoned, would be there soon to pick her up.

At the office counter I identified myself to the school secretary, who recalled our earlier telephone conversation, but seemed surprised that I had come to meet with the grade one teachers at noon.

"I don't know," she said, shaking her head, "there's a staff meeting at noon today." Just then, a pleasant-faced woman with glasses appeared in the office and introduced herself as Mrs. Stromberg. When the secretary told her I was there for our meeting, Mrs. Stromberg slapped her forehead, apologizing for forgetting to tell me about the meeting. Soon, Mrs. Drummond, a slim, grey-haired woman, also appeared and Mrs. Stromberg explained the problem.

I suggested that we arrange a meeting for another day, dreading the thought of heading back into the cold, the long journey wasted.

Mrs. Stromberg brightened. "How about tomorrow at noon? Why don't you come at 11:30 tomorrow, since I'm off at that time and then Mrs. Drummond can join us later at 12:00."

I agreed to the meeting, catching the bus back after a long, cold wait at the bus stop. Counting transfers, it would take nearly an hour to an hour and a half to get from my home to the school.

Date: December 5, 1979

After the trial run the day before, I arrived by bus at 11:20 A.M. and "killed time" at the shopping center across the street before presenting myself to the secretary at 11:32 A.M. While I awaited Mrs. Stromberg's arrival, after she was summoned to the office on the intercom, I examined the bulletin board display in the main hallway entrance. The Elmwood Public School Board survey of parental attitudes toward their schools was prominently posted near the door. According to the results, the parents seemed favorably disposed toward this particular school. Bright posters portraying physical education activities covered most of the surrounding wall space.

My inspection ended with the appearance of Mrs. Stromberg who led me through a labyrinth of rooms behind the office and into the staff room. Offering me a cup of coffee to go with my sandwich, Mrs. Stromberg explained that, unfortunately, she had to leave at 12:00 to make lunch for her husband and son who were both sick at home that day.

Feeling like a door-to-door salesperson peddling my wares and rushing to sell my product before the door slammed in my face, I launched into my well-rehearsed presentation, which, by now, was almost standardized. I began with who I was (a graduate student in elementary education), how I had become interested in the Kanata Kit materials (through personal involvement in the development of some of the kits), why a study of teacher use of these materials in the classroom was important (the need to examine some of the intentions and assumptions of curriculum developers and policy makers in the context of classroom realities), and why informal contacts with teachers were being made prior to formal permission to do the study (because teacher-researcher rapport was very important). As in the previous two meetings with teachers, the informality of the discussions was emphasized as was the tentativeness of any commitment by either party at this stage.

"How did you become involved with the Kanata Kit Project?" asked Mrs. Stromberg.

I told her how the previous fall I had been struggling with my dissertation when a call came from the managing editor asking if I would be interested in helping them re-develop Kanata Kit 1. Since I had seen a draft copy at an earlier stage of validation, I knew that the kit was in the same general area--the family in social studies materials--as my dissertation topic and could offer a way of breaking out of the frustration with my dissertation. However, I explained, the short-term assignment gradually became a longer commitment as I accepted further development work on the grade five kit as well. Throughout this account of my Kanata Kit Project involvement, I tried to stress that I was only one of several people who helped develop any one kit.

"I haven't seen the kit for grade one," said Mrs. Stromberg. "Where can I get it?"

"It does exist," I assured her. "It is no longer a phantom kit, as one of the teachers called it, because of its long delayed appearance. I understand that the kits were to be sent to the Elmwood School District central office the last week of November."

"Well, in that case," said Mrs. Stromberg, "I won't be able to start using it until some time after Christmas."

"Right!"

"What is the kit about?" she then asked.

I described the theme of the kit rather sketchily, indicating that it was based on Topic C, "Canadian Families," and that it used real families from five different ethnocultural groups living in Alberta.

Mrs. Stromberg was clearly interested. "Can you remember which ones?" she asked.

As I named the groups, Mrs. Stromberg "ticked" them off on her fingers, expressing some surprise at the choice of groups. After explaining that the selection was made prior to my involvement on the kit, I went on to describe Phase I and Phase II of the Project.

"During Phase I," I explained, "teams of teachers across the province contracted to develop innovative social studies materials using Canadian content. At that time, the social studies program was relatively open, with little structure, which permitted any preferred approach to the treatment of the family in grade one social studies."

Mrs. Stromberg nodded. "That's right. You could do anything you wanted."

"Phase II," I continued, "began when the Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project was established and the decision was made to incorporate and revise the existing Canadian Content Kits into a new format which was expected to fit the newly-revised social studies program, a more structured and prescriptive program than before. It was at this time that it was decided that real families would be interviewed and photographed for the grade one kit."

"That should be good," Mrs. Stromberg responded.

"My role was to put things together at a much later stage. . . a sort of synthesis of previous development. . . not a 'clean slate." During this account of the Project, I watched Mrs. Stromberg's face which showed great interest throughout and what I sensed was also an "informed curiosity" about this particular example of curriculum development.

"Was the kit field tested?" she asked.

Somewhat evasively, I replied, "Parts of it were."

"Well," said Mrs. Stromberg, emphatically. "I certainly hope it's better than that 'Travelling Across Alberta' that I saw! One of the teachers in our school was asked to pilot it. It was just terrible! Dreadful! She refused. I guess," said Mrs. Stromberg, "they were given a pile of money and they were in a rush to produce something."

I was momentarily stunned by the vehemence of her remarks. At one stage of the development of the grade one kit, a sudden request was made for "parts that could be piloted," and when I refused to select any "parts" in such a rough draft, someone else selected the activities for piloting. It was possible that the game she had referred to had come from the kit and at that stage and in that form it was dreadful. However, optimistically I consoled myself with the thought that perhaps she was referring to a Travel Alberta Game that someone had developed at another grade level.

"Are we talking about the same materials?" I asked, describing the black boxes used to package the Kanata Kits. "Kanata Kit 1 does have a 'Discover Alberta' Game in it, but it also has a moose hand puppet, several audiotape cassettes, and numerous study prints of the real families."

"Oh, then maybe I'm thinking of something else. . . ." She continued. "I'm really interested in curriculum development. I did some curriculum writing last year. I worked on a unit on the family for the Elmwood Public School Board."

"Was it with Jennie Hill?" I asked. (Jennie Hill was one of the elementary social studies consultants in the Elmwood school system).

"Yes," Mrs. Stromberg replied, "and I really learned a lot. I have no background in social studies nor in curriculum, so I really found it interesting."

"Do you remember the topic?" I asked. "Was it Topic A or B?"

Mrs. Stromberg thought a moment, then responded with, "I think it was called "What Is a Family?'"

"Was that the teaching unit the Elmwood School System developed for the Alberta Department of Education?" I asked, still trying to ascertain the exact materials.

"I don't think so," Mrs. Stromberg said. "I know that Jenny Hill was working on one for them, but this was not the one. It was different."

Still probing, I continued, "The Elmwood Public School Board has units already for Topic A called 'Me As An Individual'."

"Yeah," said Mrs. Stromberg, dismissing them with a sweep of her hand, "but those were developed before the new social studies curriculum came out. I've been using parts of those units, but there's really too much overlap with the kindergarten. They have good ideas, but so much of the work has already been done in our kindergarten."

Switching to another topic, I asked, "What have you done in social studies so far?"

"Well, we've done parts of the 'Me' unit and then, now, of course, it's Christmas time."

"Are you having a Christmas program?"

"Yes," she replied, "and it's keeping us busy!"

"I thought most teachers would be involved in Christmas-related activities in the remaining time before Christmas, after doing something on Topic A earlier in the fall." I continued, "When do you think you'll be able to start Kanata Kit 1 after Christmas?"

"Well," she smiled, "I honestly haven't done anything on the family yet, so, maybe by the end of January I could start thinking about it. . . I'd do a short unit on the family first. In fact, I'd like to try out the one I helped develop to see how it works. First, I'd like to deal with the concept of the family, then show some pictures of different family groups, and then do some class graphs about what their families are like."

"The Kanata Kit 1 has activities like that in it. . . such as graphing, for example," I volunteered.

"Oh, maybe after I've had a chance to see the materials I'll be better able to decide."

"When do you teach social studies?" I asked, changing the course of the discussion.

"In the afternoon," she replied, "and believe me it's really hard to work in at times because of the school's emphasis on physical education. We have to teach phys. ed. everyday."

"How large is your class?" was my next question.

"I have twenty-two this year. Not bad."

Glancing up at the clock behind Mrs. Stromberg, I noted that it was already 12:15 and she had said earlier she would have to leave at noon.

"That's okay," Mrs. Stromberg replied. "It's only a short drive from here. There's plenty of time."

Hastily "winding up" the interview, I offered to perform non-teaching services in return for teacher time spent answering my questions during the study.

"Sounds good," she murmured amiably, and, in response to my question about teacher aides, she added, "Yes, but. . . you know how they are. . ."

Rushing along, I assured her of the anonymity of the study.

"Oh, yeah, that. . . Sure. . ," she commented as I proceeded to thank her for her time and reminded her that at this stage she was not commiting herself to participation in the study.

"Would you permit me to submit your name as a possible research participant?" I asked.

"That's okay. It sounds interesting." She paused. "Sure, put my name down. We'll see how things go after Christmas. . ."

"But," she said quickly, "I have something to ask you. You mentioned a French-Canadian family is included in the kit. Perhaps you are familiar with existing sources on French-Canadian culture. Could you direct me to some?"

I had wondered why she had lingered.

"Perhaps," I offered, "but I'd need more specifics. . . What aspects of French-Canadian culture? Where in Canada?--Quebec? Alberta? And what time period--historical? Contemporary?"

"Now that's the problem," she sighed. "This is for my son who is in grade five in another school. He's come home with an assignment to do 'a report and presentation on French-Canadian culture'--period. What a research assignment!" She sounded disgusted. "No details, nothing outlined, no suggested sources. He's had absolutely no training in research skills. I'm really mad! Why do teachers give such assignments?

I even went to a local bookstore to see if I could find some books on it. I found three pamphlets on different Canadian cultural groups--they really looked good--one was on Ukrainian, the other Japanese, and I forget the third group. That kind of stuff was exactly what I was looking for--pictures, information he could read himself, activities. Do you know, is there one on the French Canadians? I didn't see anything."

After thinking about the series she had mentioned, I, too, could not recall any on the French. "I think I know which series you mean. It's by Van Nostrand. . ."

"That's right!" she interjected. "They also make maps."

". . . the two alphabet charts in Kanata Kit 1 were taken from the series' booklets on Ukrainians and Japanese," I continued. "But. . . I don't recall seeing one on the French."

"If that's the case. . . they're used in Kanata Kit 1," she said hurriedly, "maybe I'd better go back and buy them. It might be useful for me to have that kind of information when I'm teaching the kit." She looked appealingly at me, "Can you suggest something on the French Canadians that a grade five student can read?"

How ironic, I thought, after my recent struggles to find suitable materials on the same subject of the grade five kit. "Do you prefer Quebec culture or French-Canadian culture across Canada, such as in Alberta?" I sought further clarification.

"Alberta. . . perhaps that would be best," she said hesitantly. "Or, maybe it should be about Quebec. . . What do you think?"

"Have you tried contacting the French Canadian Association of Alberta?" I asked. "They might be able to suggest people or materials available locally."

She brightened up visibly. "That's a good idea, and maybe I can get someone to come as a resource person and could suggest that to his teacher. This happened once before. I ended up having to help him put something together to do a half-decent assignment. Why don't teachers at least do some advance research to see if there are resources available before assigning stuff?"

She paused.

"Now, if he had been told to do something on the Danish culture, my husband could've helped him a bit. Or if he had to do, say the Ukrainians, I could have helped get him started at least. But the French?" She looked exasperated.

Empathizing with her as a concerned parent, I offered to drop by the university curriculum library on my way home to see if I could locate some material.

She leaped at my suggestion. "That would be just swell! Here's my home phone number."

At this point, Mrs. Drummond, the other grade one teacher, joined us. It was 12:25.

"Aren't you gone yet?" she asked Mrs. Stromberg.

"No, I was waiting for you to arrive," Mrs. Stromberg answered, picking up her handbag and preparing to leave.

"Sorry about that. I didn't know you were waiting," said Mrs. Drummond, peeling an orange. "I went over to Kentucky Fried to pick up some lunch for my son."

I pulled out my sandwich.

"Go ahead, have your lunch," she told me. "This is all I'm having anyway. Diet, y'know." Soon she struck up a conversation with another teacher nearby who had expressed surprise at seeing mother and son at the same school.

"Isn't there some kind of policy against that?" the teacher mumbled.

"No problem," said Mrs. Drummond. "He's in Mr. Jones' room, and as long as he can stand him. . ." She laughed.

Hurrying through my sandwich as Mrs. Drummond lit up a cigarette, I began my presentation again. Very quickly, conscious of time rushing by, I explained my interest in curriculum implementation, how it had grown out of my recent involvement as a developer with the Project and through my studies and teaching at the university. Feeling a bit like a broken record, I mentioned that although my teaching experience had spanned all grades from one to nine, I felt strongly about the need to pay more attention to classroom realities, not just theories of what teaching ought to be.

"It's good to hear that for a change," Mrs. Drummond said firmly. "I wish more people at the university would realize what it's really like. I had a student teacher experience I'll never forget. I just had to fail her. Yet, she couldn't see what was wrong with what she was doing. I don't know what they're teaching them up there. . ."

I murmured, "Perhaps we need a better screening of applicants."

"That's right," she said emphatically, butting out her cigarette. "She just didn't have the right attitude at all. Didn't care, but she got angry when I told her that."

Lighting another cigarette, Mrs. Drummond inhaled deeply, then exhaled a cloud of smoke.

Steering the conversation back to the topic, I laughed. "The last thing a grade one teacher needs is another body to stumble over. However, I am prepared to help the teacher in some way in return for the time spent working with me, answering questions, and so on. As long as it doesn't interfere with my observations," I added hastily. "Maybe I could mark papers or run stuff off, things like that."

Some time after Christmas, maybe for a week or two, before the teacher starts using the kit, I would like to begin observing the class so I can get a 'feel' for the setting--the classroom and the school."

"You'll have to check that out with the principal," Mrs. Drummond said quickly.

"Of course," I continued, "and around the end of January or so I would like to start observing actual use of the Kanata Kit 1 materials in a grade one classroom."

Mrs. Drummond, in a relieved tone of voice, said, "Oh, so nothing will be done until after Christmas?"

"Right," I responded. "Teachers are under enough pressure now with Christmas programs and all that, so I don't expect anyone would be interested in starting at this time."

"Whew! I'll say we're under pressure!" Smoke, and more smoke, a near haze around us. "I can hardly wait. We're leaving for Barbados on December 18. That's three days without pay," she looked at me, then puffed one last puff. "But, boy do I need a rest!"

I wound the meeting up, just a few minutes before the buzzer sounded for afternoon classes. Reminding her that at this point, there was still no commitment on her part or mine, I asked her permission to include her name as a possible participant on my formal request.

"When and if you are approached at a later date," I added, "you still have the option of refusing to take part, if that's your decision then."

"That sounds okay," Mrs. Drummond agreed as she rose from the lounge, dusting the ashes off her pant suit. "By then, I'll know more about the kind of student teacher I'll be getting in the second term." She smiled reassuringly. "Even with the student teacher, I'd still be doing all the social studies teaching myself, so that shouldn't make a difference, should it?"

I put on my coat, wished her a pleasant holiday, and, as I prepared to leave, I noticed a bearded man, standing nearby, talking to another male. "Is that the principal?" I whispered to Mrs. Drummond, thinking I would introduce myself to him before I left the school.

"No," she said, "that's the assistant. Our principal is away at a conference in Flint, Michigan. He should be back in a couple of days."

As the buzzer sounded, the group drifted out of the staff room. I found my way out. About a half hour later, I caught the bus for the return trip home.

School #5 Date: December 13, 1979
Interviewees: Time: 12:15 A.M. - 12:30 A.M.
Miss Johnson, Grade One
Mrs. Melnyk,
Miss Stanley, and Teachers
Mrs. Dobbs (absent)

Although it was an extremely cold winter day, I managed to arrive at the school, a sprawling, one-story structure of stucco and brick, promptly at 12:15 as arranged with the principal. The last one and a half hours had been spent riding three different buses from my home to the school. Feeling thoroughly chilled, I rushed through the main doors and presented myself at the General Office which I had found following a sign suspended high above its door in the main hallway. Some upper elementary students sat on low benches in the hall near the main entrance, their eyes following my every move as I approached the front counter inside the office. I spoke to a curly-haired, casually dressed male who stood at the counter, and asked to see the principal.

"You're looking at him," he grinned.

I introduced myself, then reminded him that we had spoken earlier on the phone.

"Right, right," he said, pleasantly.

"We arranged a meeting for 12:15 today. Remember?" Something about the look in his face told me he had no recollection of any meeting.

"You told me that you would arrange to have me meet the four grade one teachers about doing the participant-observation study. . ."

He looked non-plussed.

"It was some time ago. Perhaps I should have phoned before coming. . ." I tried to be diplomatic.

"Yeah, you should've phoned," he said.

There was an awkward pause. I waited for his next move.

"I don't know if they're here or not. Just a minute. Wait here and I'll see. . ." He disappeared through an open doorway to his right. I stood my ground. The thought of having to repeat the journey at a later date for yet another meeting angered me.

He re-appeared, gesturing for me to follow him.

In the staff room, a large group of people were seated around a long table. As he ushered me over to an adjacent lounge, I was struck by the quantity of printed information displayed throughout the room. The walls were plastered with sheets of paper, pamphlets, charts. Books lay around on small tables and on shelving along several walls. For some reason, I thought of the Hitchcock movie of attacking birds--a data blitz! Removing my coat, I sat down on the lounge, and launched into a nervous recital of my bus adventure in response to a friendly comment, "Pretty cold out there, eh?" coming from someone seated on the lounge.

The principal introduced me to two of the grade one teachers, Mrs. Melnyk and Miss Stanley, who faced me across the coffee table. They both sat on a small lounge, arranged at right angles to where I sat.

"Where's Merle?" the principal asked, looking around the room.

Someone replied, "She's just getting her coffee in the kitchen."

The principal returned to the group seated around the table.

A tall, heavy-set woman with straight dark hair and wire rim glasses entered the room, carrying a steaming mug of coffee. She perched on the arm of the lounge, then casually draped one slack-clad leg over the back as she sipped her coffee. She looked at me, then at the two women sitting on the opposite lounge. They both looked in my direction, their expressions guarded, unsmiling. One, a short blonde woman, had her arms tightly crossed over her chest. The other, an attractive, tall brunette, leaned back against the lounge, her long legs crossed in front of her.

How should I begin, I thought, feeling a vague uneasiness about the scene. Had their presence been hastily commandeered by the principal? They seemed prepared to listen--but no more than that. After a brief self-introduction, I supplemented my opening comments with a reference to how their names had been listed for me by the social studies consultant. However, I went on to remark how surprised I'd been to learn, during my telephone conversation earlier with the principal, that there were four, not two, grade one teachers at the school.

"Isn't that a bit unusual," I asked, "at a time of declining enrolments?"

Merle took over the role as spokesperson for the group.

"Oh, Alice and Jean," she waved in their direction, "I can explain that." She laughed at my puzzled look. "They're here because extra students are coming in by bus until their new school is built in Pleasantville."

The two stared at me silently. The brunette lifted a dark lock of hair which had drifted down over one eye; the blonde just sat there, her jaw set firmly.

I looked around the room. The principal was gone.

"Where's the fourth grade one teacher?"

"That's Mrs. Dobbs--Agnes--she's not here today." Merle volunteered the information once again. "Dental appointment." She let a quick little smile play over her lips before adding, under her breath, "Lucky."

I began explaining the study--what it involved, how long it would take, how I was prepared to do something in return. Feeling uneasy, I spoke haltingly, trying to gauge their reactions.

Suddenly, the blonde with the determined look announced, "Well, you can count me out. I just can't see myself getting involved in something like that at this time." She glanced at the brunette, who shifted slightly. "Besides," she added, "I have student teachers and aides. . . and. . . there's just too many people coming and going, in, out of my room as far as I'm concerned."

The brunette spoke next. "No, I don't think I'd like to participate, at least not at this time. Maybe some other time," she said softly, adding, "My hands are full now, thanks."

I looked at Merle, as I struggled to hide my growing disappointment.

There was a long pause. We all looked at Merle. It's your turn to spin the bottle, I thought.

Suddenly, Merle, turned to face me directly. "Haven't I seen you somewhere before? Don't I know you from somewhere?" she asked, looking puzzled.

"No, I am not Margaret Ollinder. But that's okay. Even your principal called me 'Margaret' while introducing me a few minutes ago, you may have noticed." I laughed. "I've been mistaken for her before, but as long as she continues doing all those fine things in Early Childhood Education, I don't mind taking some of the credit."

"Mmm," Merle murmured, cocking her head slightly. "So you're not Margaret, but I still have a feeling that we've met before."

"Several years ago at the university, perhaps?" I offered hesitantly, for I had suddenly recalled seeing someone like her in one of the classes. However, her name seemed different.

"That's it!" Merle grinned, placing her cup on the coffee table. "What have you done since then?"

"A little bit of everything," I said jokingly, giving a brief sketch of the last few years which had included more studies, lecturing, and my latest involvement in curriculum development work. Expressing my own dissatisfaction with survey and experimental type studies, I went on to describe my interest in participant observation as a form of qualitative inquiry.

"Well," said Merle. "I'm willing to try it. You know me," she said, smiling at the others, "I'm willing to try anything--once. There's always something new to be learned." "But," she paused, "does it make a difference what kind of class you get? I have a very slow class this year."

I shook my head, relieved to know that I hadn't drawn a complete blank that day.

She went on, "Whenever it has anything to do with printing, it's pencils down and game over." She looked at me. "Is there a lot of that kind of work in the kit?"

"Not too much," I replied. "But I would like to do an extended observation, preferably starting on a daily basis about a week or so before you start the kit. I also would like to start early in the second term so that I can be done in time for fall convocation."

She seemed unperturbed by any possible disruption of her own plans. "I can start any time as I really haven't done much social studies with them thus far. I really stress the language arts, especially reading, with grade one."

She glanced at the clock. It was 12:30.

"I have to go on supervision," she said suddenly, grabbing her cup off the coffee table and rushing into the kitchen. I followed her into the kitchen where I asked her if she would allow her name to be added to the list of other names to be submitted in the formal request.

With a wave of her hand, she said, "Go ahead, put my name in. I'm almost certain that I can go ahead with it." She stopped. "But, I must warn you, I am not an early childhood major, so maybe some of the things I do won't fit. . ."

"Neither am I," I responded. "We'll work something out, I'm sure."

She left the staff room. I buttoned my coat, picked up my bag, and looked for the principal in the office. He was not in sight. I walked out into the cold wintry blast again, relieved that this was the final round of meetings, but disappointed not to have met the fourth grade one teacher. As I waited at the bus shelter, I looked back at the school. This just might be a suitable site, I thought, and there might be a chance to do two classrooms. I'd have to wait and see. But the bus service had to be the worst. Maybe I'd have to make arrangements with a taxi company.

Obtaining Formal Permission

Before submitting the formal request for permission to conduct the study in a grade one classroom during the second term, I wanted to know whether the grade one kits had arrived and had been distributed to the different Elmwood elementary schools. From questions and comments made during the informal meetings, the opportunity to examine the Kanata Kit 1 before making the final decision about the study seemed an important teacher concern. After several telephone calls and messages to the person in charge of Kanata Kit distribution for the Elmwood Public School District,[1] I was able to establish, finally, that the grade one kits had been received and were "going to be sent out to the school libraries during the Christmas break." An anxious, and somewhat impatient researcher was informed that "These things take time, you know, and although they arrived a few weeks ago, they have to be processed first."

On December 20, 1980, I submitted a formal request for permission to conduct "A Participant-Observation Study of Teacher Use of Support Materials in Social Studies." The names of the five grade one teachers were listed, with the accompanying instructions:

> Informal contacts have been made with the following grade one teachers:
>
> Merle Johnson[2] --Palisades Elementary School
> Anne Stromberg --Thackeray Elementary School
> Doris Drummond --Thackeray Elementary School
> Ellen House --Woodgrove Elementary School
> Chris Thorpe --Greenvale Elementary School

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[1] Telephone call, December 10, 1979. Message left for Lance Downs (pseudonym) to call the researcher at home. Telephone call, December 17, 1979. Left message. Telephone call, December 18, 1979. Spoke to L. Downs.

[2] Although real names were used on the request form, pseudonyms have replaced real names of the teachers, schools, and the school principal.

> One grade one teacher is to be selected from the names suggested. The names have been listed in order of perceived interest.

During the third week of January, 1980, I was notified that my research request had been approved "on a permissive basis," and the "requestor" was to contact Mr. P. Prince, Principal, at Palisades Elementary School, "to obtain final approval and make the arrangements necessary for conducting the project."[1] When I contacted Mr. Prince,[2] he granted final approval and confirmed that Merle Johnson had agreed to participate in the study. I left a message for Miss Johnson to call me that afternoon in order to make arrangements about beginning the observations. Failing to receive the expected call, I contacted Miss Johnson[3] next day and arranged to start the study on the afternoon of January 21, 1980.

Field-Work Phase

Stranger in a Strange Land

January 21, 1980

At last! The study is about to begin!

Like a well-mannered guest, I time my arrival carefully--not too early, not too late. At 12:05 noon, I follow a well-beaten path across the school yard, passing some children playing in the snowbanks around the "portable" classroom, its dirty windows piled high with stacks of old newspapers. Rounding the northwest wing of the main building, a one-storey stucco and brick structure built in 1951 (according to the figures posted just below the name of the school), I ignore the worn sign perched in the window near the front door--"Please Stay Off the Grass"--as I cut across the snowy front lawn. An abstract, wavy mural, sprawled across the entire west wall, welcomes visitors.

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[1] Letter, dated January 10, 1980, from research director.

[2] Telephone call, January 15, 1980.

[3] Telephone call, January 16, 1980.

The main hallway off the front entrance is deserted. A bright red snow blower guards the landing as I hurriedly sweep off my boots. In the distance, a shrill female voice scolds: "Now get out of here! Get out! Out! You know better than that!"

Up a short flight of stairs, to the left, and I stand before a high counter in the General Office.

"Yes? Can I help you?" offers a short, dark-haired male.

I introduce myself and ask to see Merle.

"Just a minute please. I'll check if she's in." He vanishes, re-appearing a few seconds later, beckoning. "Come this way, please."

In the staff room, Merle and about ten other people sit eating their lunch around the long table. Merle looks up, half-rises, sits down, then gets up and walks toward me in the centre of the room. She moves in the direction of the lounges, then stops abruptly.

"I'm still eating," Merle says. "But I'll be with you in a minute." She returns to the table and resumes her lunch. "I have a parent coming to see me at noon today," she adds.

I wait awkwardly, then start removing my coat.

"Is it all right if I leave my coat here?" I ask, laying it across the back of a lounge.

"Sure, go ahead," waves Merle. "How about some coffee?"

"That would be nice, if there is some," I murmur gratefully, rubbing my cold hands.

Merle glances around the room, then says in a low voice, "Yeah, there probably isn't any left by this time."

I join a middle-aged woman seated on a lounge. She is reading something from a black loose-leaf binder, her back to the rest of the room, her feet propped up on a coffee table. Picking up a newsletter, I begin to read, stealing quick glances around the room.

Two lounges, one slipcovered in a black tweed, the other in a bright floral pattern, form a rectangular seating area with a green vinyl and a tangerine-colored set of padded chairs. Below the window on the east wall a wooden rack holds old copies of Current Curriculum 1978. Bulletin boards loom from all sides. Notices tacked up in groups under labeled headings compete for attention. On a small chalkboard near the door leading to the office, someone has written a message for teachers: "Complete and hand in professional development forms. Due today!!" A long table and an open closet take up most of the remaining space in the room. On the north wall, an open door leads to the kitchen.

About ten minutes later, one of the men seated at the table saunters over and perches on the arm of the lounge. I introduce myself again--recognizing the principal--and I tell him that I'm waiting for Merle to finish her lunch.

"That's right," he says, casually pulling his pipe out of a pocket. "You phoned last week. How's it going?"

"I haven't really started yet," I confess, "but I hope to begin observing this afternoon."

"Good, good." He fills his pipe, then strikes a match. "You had something to do with the Kanata Kits, right?"

We chat. He wants to know how many kits are out already. There are only two available at this time at the elementary level--the one for grade two had been sent out to the schools last spring, the grade one kit has just arrived. Altogether, I tell him, there will be sixteen multi-media social studies kits. There are also going to be teaching units, one per grade, to help teachers implement the new social studies.

He looks puzzled, but interested.

"A teaching unit for grade one, Topic A of the new social studies, just came out recently. I saw it when I visited a friend's classroom last week."

The woman on the lounge suddenly flips back the front of her binder, revealing a bright orange cover inside. "That's what I'm looking at right now," she comments. "But it's for grade three." She returns to her reading.

"Interesting," murmurs the principal, drawing on his pipe. "Who made these materials? Who worked on them?"

"Different people and groups were involved at various phases of development," I explain, beginning to feel like a public relations person for the Project. "Educators from different parts of the province worked on the materials. All the units and kits followed a general design drawn up in advance. They used the same inquiry model as in the newly revised social studies."

"So these kits, Kanata Kits, are on the new social studies?" the principal continues his queries. I assume he is not familiar with recent developments in social studies.

Just then, Merle appears, carrying a copy of the Kanata Kit 1 teacher's guide. During our telephone conversation the week before, she had indicated that the kit had arrived and was being processed in the school library. However, she had said she had started reading the guide.

She sits down beside me and hands me a copy of her timetable. The principal leaves.

"I've made some changes here, you'll notice," she says, pointing to the box in the upper right corner where "10 girls" had been changed to "11 girls," "9 boys" to "11 boys." She continues the conversation. "One of my boys is a K/1. He spends his mornings in the kindergarten and his afternoons with me in grade one. He's certainly a bright child, but so immature in many ways. His visual-motor skills are poor."

Pointing to a block of time marked "L.A.," she says, "I needed an extra language arts period so I put it there. But I don't always follow this plan exactly."

I nod.

Social studies, I notice, is scheduled for the last period of the day, four days a week. The double period of social studies on Wednesday has been marked "L.A." and Tuesday's social studies period is also labeled "Library." On Friday, the two periods after recess in the afternoon are both "S.S." Boxed-in totals on the right side of the sheet indicate that 220 minutes are spent on social studies each week--at least on paper.

"It's important to keep a timetable to keep you on track," says Merle in a professional tone. Then, laughingly, she adds, "But don't be surprised if you see me doing something else at the time."

"I'm not here to check on whether you stick to your timetable or not," I reassure her. "Just go ahead and do what you normally would do if I weren't here."

Merle flips rapidly through the introductory pages of the Kanata Kit teacher's guide on her lap. She stops at Activity 1 in the Opener. "I've had a quick look through these first few pages, and I think I'd like to get started a bit earlier than I had planned."

She peers at me over the top of her glasses which have slid down her nose. "I haven't done the family yet, so this first activity won't exactly be a review for them." After another quick glance at the outlined procedures in the activity, she comments. "This looks interesting. I'd like to try it, but," her voice speeds up, "I probably won't use the same examples or pictures."

"That's fine," I say as impassively as I can. "Whatever you decide. On the phone you mentioned something about starting the kit on February 1. Is that still your plan, or would you like a bit more time before you begin?"

"I've looked through it quickly," she says, "and they say it will take about six to eight weeks. That means, if I start on it right away, I was thinking like next Monday, that would give me eight weeks." She pauses. "The way I see it, I'll have to start next Monday."

She'd made a decision.

She flips over a few more pages.

"I've already asked them to bring pictures of their families. . . for sharing time. It's funny, though. . ." A smile plays about her lips. "One of the girls brought a picture of her parents and her grandmother. I asked her, 'Is that your father's mother?' and she said 'No,' and then I asked, 'Is that your mother's mother?' and she said, 'Yes,' but I know that's not so. It can't be." Merle chuckles. "I asked her, 'Where does your grandmother live?' and she told me she lives with them, but I happen to know," says Merle, amused, "that they have been preparing a room for the grandmother in the basement for when she comes to visit them from the old country. . . India, I believe."

Turning to the letter to the parents, included as a student master in the kit, Merle comments, "I need to send this letter home right away. I'd like to spend about a week on these activities." Pointing to the second half of the letter, a data sheet on family cultural and ethnic roots, she goes on, as if musing aloud. "It's funny about this sheet. It's the first time I've seen it done this way." She looks up at me. "I suppose it's because you had something to do with it?"

I glance over. How much should I tell her, I wonder.

"In most cases," Merle observes, "we usually ask the usual questions about where you came from, where your parents came from. We just assume that it applies to all groups, then we think, 'Oh yeah, it doesn't apply to the Indians, does it?' Then we still go ahead the same way. Also, if we did think about it, the question would still be just tacked on, not given special treatment, like this here."

The family "roots" data sheet, to be sent home, was divided into two parts. The top portion applied to children of native ancestry, the bottom to those whose ancestors had immigrated to Canada. I decide to explain to Merle how the idea and form had been taken from the original Canadian Content Kit. One of the development team members was a naturalized Canadian citizen who had emigrated from Jamaica. Perhaps this explained the 'sensitivity' to such issues as family origins, immigration, and citizenship that I had noted in the original grade one kit.

The conversation drifts back to how long the study will take. Again, I repeat my requirements carefully, indicating my need to observe full days daily, at least for the remainder of the week, before she begins using the kit.

"This would help me get used to the children and the setting and I could pace my observing and recording. Last week I visited a friend's grade one classroom for a couple of days just to get the 'feel' of it."

"What school?" asks Merle, looking curious.

"Wide Plains."

"Ah. . . that's a good school," she says wistfully. "She probably has students doing advanced work, not like mine." In a strangely flat voice, she says matter-of-factly, "My class is a low class. They're really egocentric. Now, you take the class next door, they're better for some reason. But this class, I just don't know. . ." She shakes her head. "This class is...just different. They're not like the kids I had when I taught in Pleasantville." Her shoulders slump. She looks dejected.

"How long have you been teaching in this school?" I ask.

"Two years. This is my second year here."

Thinking that perhaps the school "streamed" students, I ask her how the children were selected for her class. She explains that they were all tested during the kindergarten year and grouped by the kindergarten teacher. Because all classes in the school were meant to be heterogeneous, the kindergarten teacher assigned children from each of the ability groups to form a mixed ability grade one class for the following year.

Bringing the discussion back to the question of how long the study will take, Merle sums up, "So, at first you want to come here every day all day until the end of the week. And then, you will be coming only at certain times?"

Field-work manual advice runs through my head: 'Don't let the subjects tell you when and what to observe; don't allow yourself to be forced into roles; don't narrow the limits of your study prematurely; don't tell the subjects all your plans. . .'

"It's hard to say at this point just how long it will take or how often I will be observing. Until the kit is finished, I suppose. How much I observe every day will depend on how things go, whether I can keep up with the notes and typing and so on. We'll work something out later."

Merle closes the teacher's guide.

"After awhile," she says, a far away look in her eyes, "you get so involved in what you are doing, it's just the teacher and the kids. . . You tend to forget about such things as objectives and so on. I guess you have to keep that in mind when you do research."

She smiles.

A buzzer rings. It is almost one o'clock.

As we slowly walk toward her classroom, I offer belated assurances of anonymity.

"I never even thought of that!" Merle looks surprised. "When I agreed to do this, it never entered my mind. Now that I think of it, I guess it's a good thing. I suppose it could make a difference. Sometimes, things are said or done. . ." Her voice trails off.

Another matter had to be settled before we began. "If I find something puzzling, something I don't quite understand," I say, hurriedly, "I'd like to check it out with you. Perhaps you could read some of my notes from time to time to see if I got it right. Or, I could keep a list of questions as they come up, and then we could get together when you have time."

"Sure," says Merle, amiably, as she stops in front of a classroom door. "That sounds reasonable. But I really don't want to know exactly what you're doing because that could affect the way I go about things."

The sign on the door reads: Room 4--Mrs. Sinjah.

Mrs. Sinjah? Was that last year's occupant, I wonder, and, if so, why hasn't Merle got her own name on the door? A minor point. Inside, taped to the door, a droopy, pale sign says: "Welcome to grade one." I am excited.

The room is semi-dark. Children mill around. Some have removed their coats in the cloakrooms at the back; others walk about the room, chatting or looking at things crammed into cupboards at both sides and at the back of the room. A few sit quietly in their desks--no more than three or four.

"Where should I sit?" I whisper to Merle.

She motions to the back. "Anywhere will do. At the table will be fine." She moves toward her desk in one corner at the front of the room.

Tip-toeing to the back, I pass round eyes and sunny faces which watch as I pluck a chair from among the ring of chairs circling the work table at the back. I sit down--how low it feels! --and peer from behind the jungle of chair legs. Clearing away some of the odd-looking egg carton sculptures which litter the entire table, I begin making short running notes of the conversation I can still recall from the staff room.

At the front of the room, Merle pokes at a pile of the most incredible assortment of books, papers, and objects on top of her desk. A blue plastic bucket perches precariously on top of the pyramid, which threatens to collapse at any moment. She rummages.

Only a few children turn and stare at the "visitor." More children drift in from the hallway, then slowly undress, their voices carrying over the cloakroom partitions. Merle walks slowly, up and down the aisles, dropping colored construction paper on each desk. Glimpses of colored stars and an outlined rabbit? snowman? Some of the drawings look colored--scribbled is perhaps a better word.

The introductions begin. Talking stops.

Speaking in a low, even voice, Merle draws the children's attention to the "visitor" at the back of the room. As some turn around, I rise, uncertain about what to expect. I walk toward the front. The children are told that "Mrs. Odynak is here to learn about grade one." So far so good, I think. They are cautioned to ask me if I have time to help them because sometimes I might be busy doing something else. As soon as the introductions are over, I return to the table.

Bringing a large book from her desk, Merle perches on a step stool at the front of the room. A circle of children soon forms at her feet. Some flop to the floor, lying on their stomachs; others sit cross-legged. Six children remain at their desks. After much chattering and jostling, a boy is sent back to his desk, then another. More settling in--some sharp elbowing. "Ouch!" Another child sits down in his desk. He puts his head down.

Merle reads a story called "Our New Home in the City," pausing frequently to discuss a word or to ask brief questions. She reads well and manages to maintain the attention of most of the children. The topic is about pets and apartments at one point. The children are told that some apartments do not allow pets. Yet, says Merle, in some cities, police encourage people to keep guard dogs. The story moves on to libraries. The children yawn and stretch. A few hands shoot up when Merle asks if any of them have visited the public library with their parents.

At 1:15 P.M. the story ends. Merle closes the book and begins a discussion on moving. Specific children are asked to relate their family's moving experiences. Bodies begin to squirm and move about. Attention has evaporated.

"Thank you for listening to the story," Merle says courteously, her quiet voice barely audible above the growing noise. "Now when you get back to your desks, will you please get your orange phonics book?"

The room erupts. I am startled. Bodies seem to move in every direction, some slithering along the floor between rows of desks, others walking--their shoes slapping noisily against the hard surface. At the cubbyhole storage area along the west wall, there is a traffic jam. The earlier arrivals rummage through a clutter of papers, glue bottles, books, a sweater? a shoe? in their "cubbies" which carry name labels that are now ragged and stained. Others stand around, waiting and visiting. One boy sings softly to himself as he passes my table, with a quick glance and away. Those who have found their phonics books--tattered pages stapled together (some with pieces of the orange cover ripped off the corners)--walk to their desks where they begin groping inside their desks. For pencils, I wonder? A girl approaches Merle. "That's all right," Merle assures her. "I made these books up myself and I left out some pages."

Merle waits patiently. From time to time, she says, "Sssshhhh!" Some children are in no hurry to return to their desks. They visit along the way. A boy walks over to the east side of the room. He sharpens his pencil. Noisily. He gazes out the patch of window not covered by the huge bulletin board which rests against the window ledge.

"We're still waiting for David to sit down," Merle says, looking significantly at the pencil-sharpener. He saunters back to his desk. He grins at me in passing. No rush.

At 1:25 P.M. the language arts lesson begins. The timetable says 'Math' from 1:03-1:33, followed by 'Science' from 1:33-2:03, then 'Recess'. Merle begins her instructions. She speaks in a quiet, even tone. The room is still very noisy.

Merle tells the children to point to the first word on the page. They sound it out together--"b-a-g, bag." I can barely hear her. Suddenly, she walks over and switches off the light. The room plunges into semi-darkness. I wonder how they can see.

"Dick," says Merle, in a voice just a shade louder than before, "are you ready?" and on go the lights again. She asks them to sound the word again, then cautions them about printing the letters 'b,' 'a,' and 'g,' carefully on the line below the picture of a bag. She proceeds in a similar manner through the rest of the words on the page-- tag ("Something you write your name on"), rag, nap, cab ("that's a picture of a taxi, it's called a cab"). Someone draws attention to a word skipped. "Thank you for raising your hand to remind me." The lesson continues--gas ("that's a picture of a gas pump").

She walks around quickly from row to row, checking their work.

Children turn, look at the work behind. Some are still looking for pencils, others gnaw on short pencil stubs. Pencils drop, bodies squirm, desks scrape, feet shuffle. Soon Merle is ready to move on to the next page. "Let's turn to page 21."

She waits.

The noise continues. Off go the lights. She begins the instruction. The noise is incredible. Back to the switch. On-off, on-off.

"I'm really not happy with the noise in here," she says sadly. She looks around. "I think Carol knows what to do."

Lights go off.

"Roddy, do you know what to do?" She looks at a freckle-faced boy who is not paying attention. He mumbles something. "Yes, that's right."

The instructions are repeated for the second page: find the word, sound it out, find the picture, print the word under the picture. As they complete the exercise, Merle examines their work, stamping "Happy Faces" on some pages. Not all are working, however. A girl in the front desk turns around, sticks her tongue out at the boy behind. Merle walks over and moves the girl's desk slightly forward.

Another woman is now in the room. She talks to Merle in an undertone, then one of the girls leaves with her. She carries her phonics book wherever it is that she's gone.

Without any visible signal from Merle, the children start moving toward the carpeted area in the southeast corner of the classroom. Stacking chairs, dragged noisily down from a pile on the orange carpet, are placed in a circle by the children. Some sit down. They clap their hands and then slap their knees. A few children pull out books from a nearby cupboard and browse through, sitting cross-legged on the carpet.

What is happening? Did I miss some cue?

Merle joins the group on the carpet. She asks the children to move their chairs out to the edge of the carpet, forming a "big circle." Clapping continues. She sits on a small chair in the middle of the circle. "The rest of you people, get in the circle." She begins clapping, the children join in, lustily counting out numbers from one to ten, as they slap their knees. A child is chosen to stand in the circle. The counting, clapping, slapping are repeated.

I watch in bewilderment. Is it a game? What are the rules?

More children are called into the circle. They stand there. "How many times did we count to ten?" Merle asks. The children seem confused. So am I! Sometimes the teacher stops the counting just short of ten. Why? Again, she asks, "How many times did we count to ten?" Confusion. "No, no!" She sounds exasperated. "You're not paying attention!"

I give up. My own attention has wandered to the rest of the children who are outside the carpet group. Five stay in their desks, their phonics books still open. A fat boy in the first desk of the first row plays a game of "push-in-the-row-of-desks-as-far-back-as-you-can-go-by-digging-in-your-heels." Another boy swings a small counting bead frame, round and round his head. A blonde girl with gaping smile approaches the teacher. The girl returns to her desk, frowning. A dark-haired girl tugs and pulls at her long blouse sleeves whose elastic has cut into the flesh of her wrists. Another girl with long blonde hair, seated just a few desks in front on my table, drops her pencil on the floor, then dives for it--repeatedly, until, finally, she fails to surface and lies there under her desk. As the little blonde girl makes yet another urgent trip to the front, and returns, scowling, to her desk, I approach her and ask if I can help. She looks down at her phonics book, but says nothing. Her work is a mess--scribbles all over the page, erasures half-heartedly attempted, and letters printed haphazardly.

I help her sound the words out on the second page of the phonics exercise. She has no conception of the instructions given earlier at all. Yet she can sound the words out. Her letter 'p' is reversed. I draw it to her attention, and she erases it, grinning impishly, then she prints it correctly but sloppily on the line. I notice the orange sheet with a snow man on top of her desk. Before returning to my chair at the table, I ask her about the sheet. "What does it mean?" She whispers back, "It's for being 'good.'" Her sheet, unlike some of the others on the rest of the desks, has only two stars on it.

At the front of the room, the teacher has placed some empty egg cartons and a bunch of wooden blocks on the carpet. A child is asked to place the blocks in the cartons. "Can you tell me how many blocks?" asks Merle. "Three ten-trays [?] plus how many more?" she prompts. The answer is inaudible. "No, there aren't!" says Merle crossly. She restates the question: "How many full trays do you have?" She pauses. "How many left over?" The 'Math' activity continues until the buzzer sounds for recess at 2:03 P.M.

Recess. The children scramble off the carpet. They dash into the cloakrooms. Some dress at their desks. Others dress and chatter in the cloakrooms. Merle walks over to my table.

Groping for words, I enthuse, "They're delightful!"

"Yeah, but tiring," says a dispirited-looking Merle. She walks to the front of the room and surveys the scene. "Matt, your row isn't ready to go until you put your book away." She waits. Children sit down, dressed in their outdoor clothes. They wait. She waits. "The rows will have to be cleaner, much cleaner. The neatest row will be the first to go to put their boots on." She speaks firmly but very quietly. Some desks are shoved and pushed into line, a few papers are crammed into the desks. The room remains untidy. The blocks and egg cartons lie deserted on the carpet. A few chairs have been knocked over. The children wait. Merle stands near the door and then calls out the rows by number. As each row is called, the children get up, some in a rush, others more nonchalantly.

Merle invites me to join her in the staff room. She fills her coffee mug from a large urn, then we sit down together on one of the lounges. A group of teachers are discussing "choices," and when asked, Merle says, quickly, "First aid, that's my first choice." I hear others--outdoor education, snowshoeing, skiing. I ask Merle to explain. They are planning their next PD day--Professional Development day. In the first term, the theme had been Glasser's classroom management strategies. We discuss the coming federal election. During the course of the conversation, I mention how Maureen McTeer, wife of Joe Clark, broke down and cried when she was repeatedly harassed for keeping her own name.

"I don't understand why people make such a big thing about keeping one's own name," says Merle. "I know that even before I was divorced, I wanted to keep my own name. And after, I went back to it." She adds, emphatically, "I _like_ my name."

In response to a direct question, I learn that there are twenty people on staff, including those who are part-time. Merle adds, "But you'll see more than that in this room, though, at times." She laughs. "This place is really informal, there's no difference if you're a teacher or a janitor. Mr. Sloan, our janitor, often stands in the doorway to my room and talks to the kids. Of course, he makes them take their boots off, but he's really interested in kids."

The buzzer sounds. Merle keeps on drinking her coffee. She grins. "As you can see, nobody's in any big rush to get out of here."

At 2:21 P.M. we are back in the classroom. Merle, standing at the door, switches off the lights. There is a great deal of talking and laughing and walking about. Merle talks to one of the other grade one teachers in the hallway, as I make my way to the back of the room. The fat boy waddles over to Merle.

"No, Doug," she says finally, "recess time is bathroom time." He sits down and plays with his pencil, his face scowling. A short, neatly groomed woman appears in the doorway. She smiles as Merle calls the children to line up at the door by rows. They form a single line that is then led out of the room by the woman. "Ssshh!" says Merle, as they go down the hallway, some pushing and shoving and tripping. The timetable says 'Music'.

When I ask Merle if she has to exchange with another teacher at this time, she replies, "No, it's my 'prep' time," and she scoops up some stencils. She declines my offer to help, saying that she doesn't have much time and if I were to come along she'd be tempted to "talk" and wouldn't finish all the photocopying. She leaves the classroom in a rush.

I look around and decide to make a detailed description of the room in my running notes, which I later expand to read like this in my field notes:

> There is stuff piled all over the room. Unbelievable! At the front of the room, in the southeast corner, there is a small, square-shaped orange carpet. About a dozen chairs lie scattered about the carpet. Boxes of over-stuffed pillows, some with the filling oozing out, and a huge Raggedy Anne doll sit on the floor nearby. Under the chalkboard, a cassette recorder and a black record player with speakers rest on the carpet. Above, a bulletin board contains 'rules for behavior' and five laminated clouds bear children's first names. A yellow laminated teacher-made calendar for 'January' has removable disks showing the days of the month mounted on rows of hooks. The rest of the south wall is chalkboard on which words and sentences have been printed at various angles. A row of white 'Snoopy' comic book characters with colorful toques, a color word printed in black on each body,. parades along the chalkboard top. In front of the chalkboard stands a pocket chart with words and phrases tucked into its folds.
>
> To the right stands the teacher's desk. It is nearly buried beneath an untidy mound of papers and assorted materials, some of which seem to have overflowed on to a hexagonal table placed directly in front of the teacher's desk. An overhead projector lurks nearby and behind it stands a bright yellow filing cabinet. A small closet fits snugly into a narrow wall space next to the door leading into the hallway. A regulation clock is mounted above the door.
>
> A smaller chalkboard runs the length of the west wall unit until it reaches the cubbyhole storage area. 'Food' words are printed in pastel chalk, barely visible in the semi-darkness of the room. A tomato and a cucumber have been lightly sketched below the printing. The date, January 20, 1980 sits above the set of ruled lines, at a slight angle. Laminated charts with outlined 'sensory organs' are pinned above one chalkboard section, and above the other is an illustrated alphabet frieze. Stretching across the entire cubbyhole area and extending above the cloakroom partitions is a short number line (0 to 20). Tucked next to the storage cubbies is another laminated chart with some smeared printing on it in felt pen. The heading says: 'Work Chart' and some of the grid spaces contain page numbers.
>
> In the northwest corner are two cloakroom areas, with two rows of hooks along each of two short walls, a short ledge on one side, and a wider bench against the short wall. Paint shirts droop from one set of hooks. Clothing--mitts, toques, running shoes, scarves, and snowsuits--litter the floor. Some of the clothing is hung up neatly. Bright, commercially-produced posters showing punctuation marks with personalized faces look down from the north wall above the cloakroom area.
>
> On the other side of the cloakroom partition, the remainder of the north wall contains two closed cupboards separated by a beige-colored chart showing a 'seasonal map' of the schoolyard. Below are more storage spaces with open shelves crammed and overflowing with puzzles, games, construction paper, toys, pictures,

a bucket of plasticine, oil cloth mats, brown paper bags, old magazines, cardboard cartons full of ?? The counter above groans under a load of papers, charts, boxes. The sink next to the cloakroom partition is dirty and spattered with soapy water. Wet paper towels lie crumpled inside the sink and on the counter top. An empty fish tank sits near the sink, some papers tossed inside its grimy glass walls.

Windows line the east wall, but it is hard to tell. The room is semi-dark whenever the lights are off. Huge cardboard bulletin boards rest against the window ledges, obscuring the natural light. A wire clothesline is strung the length of the windows, another stretches across the southeast corner above the carpet. Some posters are clipped on to it with clothespins, like bits of laundry hanging out to air. Two more clotheslines intersect in the middle of the room. More open storage spaces are found beneath the windows, and these too are filled to overflowing with a variety of educational materials--board games, blocks, instruments, and laminated cut-outs in plastic bags. A chart on thin white paper that has been ripped off a roll at a jagged angle shows a roughly silhouetted human body with its parts labeled in felt pen. The printing is carelessly done.

Five lonely snap shots swim in the vast emptiness of a huge bulletin board. 'Families' says a laminated heading pinned at an angle to the bulletin board. Another bulletin board holds ruled sheets of paper on which individual children have printed their stories. Most sheets are held up with one tack, their edges curled and moving with each breeze. The printing is sloppy, with mixed capitals and small letters, numerous reversals, and frequent erasures.

At the back of the room, an easel stands empty and abandoned, except for one dirty white stocking draped across its ledge. A hexagonal table near the cubbies holds a battered wooden box with a carrying handle. Its numerous partitions are half-filled with stubby bits of wax crayon. Next to the table is what looks like a home-made cardboard carrel that looks unused, except for two sweaters, a running shoe, a skipping rope, and a lump of plasticine. Under the front chalkboard, almost escaping my attention, are colored pictures with printed words beneath each picture. A row of pictures showing math 'sets' is mounted beneath the west chalkboard.

Just as I complete my written sketch of the room, Merle returns. She begins to tidy up, throwing papers into a wastebasket, shoving stuff into cupboards and boxes. She seems to be searching for something. What an impossible assignment, I think, as I watch her walk about the room in sudden, quick movements.

She shifts the fish tank over to one side. "I really should get some fish for this fish tank," she sighs. "But I just haven't had time to get around to it." She pauses, then adds, almost defiantly, while looking under the sink, "And I don't know if I will, either."

"There's certainly a lot of material in this room," I say diplomatically.

She continues to look through the cupboards near the table. She talks as if thinking aloud.

"Somehow, I just can't seem to get back into the swing of things after Christmas," she mutters. "I just didn't like coming back after the holidays."

"Did you go away somewhere for the holidays?" I ask politely.

"No, but I should have," she mumbles, still searching.

"Do you have any children?" I enquire.

"Yes," she responds quietly, her back still turned as she pokes and prods some boxes on the counter. "I have a daughter."

At 2:50 P.M., the children are led back into the room by the music teacher. They sit in their desks and wait for what comes next--whatever it is. Merle, resting against the edge of her desk, watches silently. Then she begins a class discussion about 'food' groups. It sounds like a review. She compliments the fat boy, Doug, for having a "good memory." He beams. Suddenly, she points her finger at a little boy sitting with his knees drawn up to his chin in the first row.

"Sherman! Will you please leave the room, at once." Her voice is tinged with disappointment.

The little boy gets up and meekly walks out of the room.

The discussion continues, question-answer, question-answer style. Merle announces that they will be making more pictures of fruits and vegetables from the different food groups. As she begins her explanation of what they are to do when they receive their copy of the fruits and vegetables, the noise level rises in a great crescendo.

I strain to hear the instructions. After they get the paper, they are to cut out the pictures of the fruits and vegetables, then they are to print 'Fruit and vegetable group,' using the teacher's printing on the chalkboard as a model. Finally, they are to cut and paste the pictures on the sheet of construction paper that she would give them.

"I find I'm talking too loudly," she says matter-of-factly, "because your feet and mouths are making too much noise." Merle stops. "I think I'll just wait until you all get your pencils, crayons, and scissors and glue."

Off go the lights. There is a mad scramble about the room, as voices call out, bodies collide, disputes break out.

"Someone must have two pairs of scissors," Merle carries on patiently. "I know we have enough scissors. It's the glue we're short of," she mutters.

A girl approaches the table and asks if I have any glue. I reach over and hand her a stray bottle lying behind some paper sculptures.

"Now, sit down and raise your hand if you have any problems," says Merle. She waits. She looks at the class. She repeats the instructions carefully, step by step, speaking in a slow, even voice. At times, she asks a particular child, who is obviously not listening, to repeat the instructions. Patiently, she goes over the instructions, never raising her voice above the din in the room. Finally, one child is given a stack of white sheets, another receives colored construction paper. They walk around the room, dropping a sheet on every desk.

Merle walks out the door in sudden, quick strides. She returns with Sherman. They hold a whispered conference near the door. Sherman nods his head and returns to his desk. The children set to their tasks with much gusto -- and paste! Everybody looks occupied--cutting, pasting, coloring, printing. Scraps of paper float down around the desks. Glue bottles pound away. Some walk over to the crayon box, poke around a bit, then go back and color, clutching bits of wax crayon with smeary fingers. A few flop down on their stomachs in front of the side chalkboard and copy the title off the board. A girl washes her hands at the sink, lathering herself and the immediate surroundings with generous squirts of liquid detergent. Reaching over, she grabs a bunch of towels, wipes her hands, then drops the wet towels on the floor near my feet.

"Just a minute,"I whisper firmly. "You'd better put those in the garbage." She stares at me blankly, as if to say, who is this stranger bossing me around. Then, beneath my stern gaze, she stoops, picks up the soggy mess, and tosses the towels into the wastepaper basket near the teacher's desk. Well, nearly in the wastebasket, as some fall on the floor.

"Some people are working so quietly," Merle announces suddenly, "that I think I'll give them a star." She has been walking around the room and now she reaches into an envelope and drops stars on some desks. I glance up at the clock. 3:10 P.M. A grey-haired woman enters the room. She pulls some pictures out of a large envelope and shows them to Merle. "I'm trying to get these straight," she says. She must be the school secretary, I think, for I've seen her in the office earlier in the day.

When the woman leaves, Merle walks over to tme. She says quietly, "When I first started teaching, I never used stars. Now I use 'Happy

Faces' for marking their work. I just started using stars last week."

What can I say? I hide behind a mask. "Positive reinforcement," I mutter.

"Well, that's what it is," Merle agrees. "At least it's better than yelling at them all the time. At the end of the week, there's a bulletin board out in the hall near the office with 'Helping Hands' on it."

What is she talking about, I wonder?

"So I can just count up the stars at the end of the week and give a 'Helping Hand' badge to the ones with the most stars."

My head is spinning.

She walks around, checking to see if the children have printed their names on the sheets. I decide to take a closer look at their work. As I start to walk around, Merle says, almost as an afterthought, "Do you want to walk around a bit? Go ahead, feel free." She praises one girl for following the instructions. From what I can see, she must be one of the few in the room to have done so. Merle asks her to pick up the scraps of paper which have fallen beneath each desk. Another girl with a dark complexion helps her push the heavy metal oil can (wastepaper basket) along the floor between the rows of desks. Suddenly, the "welcome" sign comes down with a thud. Merle tapes it back up again. She asks the rest of the children to start cleaning up around their desks. Children walk to the front of the room and deposit their sheets of paper in some sort of container. She tells those who are not yet finished to put their work away and to start getting dressed for home.

Papers, glue, scraps, pencils, crayons--all are crammed helter-skelter into the desks. Clothes are brought in from the cloakroom and the children complete their dressing at their desks. Merle takes her position near the door, reminding "Group 2, on your way out, don't forget to take home your word cards for the reader, Surprise, Surprise." She calls out the row numbers and hands cards out to some children as they file past her and out the door. Two children seem to linger, still not dressed after the others have left. She sends them off. Then she approaches my table.

"That Doug and that Carol!" she shakes her head. "They just like to hang around. They don't like to go home after school. Sometimes they're still here nearly an hour after the bell. They can think of all kinds of excuses."

We walk toward the staff room.

"Look, if you want to walk around, move around, just go ahead. I don't mind," says Merle, after I had apologized for disrupting her class in any way by walking around the room. "Oh, by the way," she adds, "before I forget, if you're planning to come Thursday, you'd better wear something not too good. We'll be using clay that day and it tends to fly around."

In the staff room, Merle looks around the room, then gets a cup of coffee. "I'm expecting a student teacher tomorrow in the afternoon, and maybe another on Thursday, although I don't know about that one--if she'll even show up." Merle shakes her head in some recollection. "Last week, the student teacher came, and she's such a young thing, in her first year of university, still having a hard time getting used to thinking of herself as a teacher. But by the time the visit was over, she was starting to relate to the kids."

She gets up.

"I usually stick around for a while, but today, the piano tuner is coming. . ." She sounds apologetic, I think. I'm in no mood to talk anyway since I have to sort out what I've seen. I pick up my coat.

"Sometimes," says Merle, "something is educationally sound--like 'listen and discuss'--there's a lot of that in grade one. But how much 'listen and discuss' can they take? The stuff they were doing just now--cutting, pasting, coloring--they need something like that from time to time, a break from the 'listen and discuss.'"

I continue to dress.

"I forgot about Sherman in the hallway," Merle admits suddenly.

I had forgotten about him too, yet she continues, "I know they say that it's no use putting them out in the hallway like that, but sometimes I have to. He doesn't like grade one. He was getting smart-mouthed there. I had to do something. He is bright, but he's just not ready for grade one."

In answer to my question about whether Sherman is the K/1 she had referred to earlier, she replies, "Yes, and for some reason he tries to get back at me for having to come to the grade one classroom in the afternoon." She pauses. "I really should get you a seating plan," she adds, moving toward a group of teachers who are discussing "costumes," "songs," and "concert." I continue dressing.

"So, " Merle says, turning toward me just as I am leaving the staff room, "You plan to be here the rest of the week and then certain times after that, right?"

I repeat my general plan--again.

"Any time you feel tired of sitting, just walk around, up and down the hall, if you wish. I keep my door open all the time. People just come in and out, I hardly notice when someone comes in. The children usually have to tell me."

"See you tomorrow," I say, "at 8:45 A.M," as I leave the school.

All the way home on the bus, I make running notes of what I have observed. It is a long trip. There is so much to recall! When I get home, I still have to type the notes up in full. I am excited but exhausted.

Getting to Know You

January 21-25, 1980

By the end of the first week of daily observations, a tentative patterning of classroom experiences began to emerge as I became more familiar with the setting and the actors in it. Through the "sharing together of the same vivid present," I was coming to understand the subjective reality of the educational experiences of this teacher and some of her students. The following vignettes are based on descriptive and interpretive observations and comments taken from my field notes recorded during this early orientation period.

Merle. There is no doubt that Merle holds low expectations for this class. During the initial interview and on the first day of observation, she had stated: "I have a very low class. They're very egocentric. . . . This class is different somehow. They're not like the kids I had when I taught in Pleasantville."

Understanding the basis for such comparative judgment requires knowing something about Merle's past pedagogical experiences. In numerous, casual, after-school conversations, Merle had told me that she had been a secondary school teacher who had become interested in student reading problems. After completing a graduate program of study, she had accepted a position with a large urban school system. However, after several years as a language arts consultant, she had decided to change her work. In Merle's own words:

> I got tired of testing, testing, testing. Besides, I was giving elementary school teachers advice, yet I had no practical knowledge of elementary classroom experience. So I decided to go back to the classroom and to start at the very beginning, in grade one.

She had taught grade one for three years in Pleasantville, then had decided it was time to move to another school. This was her second year of teaching grade one at Palisades Elementary School. However, she added:

> I'm really lacking in enthusiasm this year. In other years, I'd at least get excited about something. I think teachers should not stay too long in one spot. They should move on to some other grade. I've been thinking of applying for a transfer, maybe to teach upper elementary.

Her commitment to language arts and individualized instruction is evident in her professional approach to matters of scheduling and structuring learning experiences. On her timetable, Language Arts is King, and lesser subjects, like Social Studies, are demoted to the last period or periods of the day. She admitted that when she needed an extra period for Language Arts, she borrowed from the time allotment for Social Studies. Merle told me:

> If I really felt social studies was that important, I would rearrange my timetable so that it came in the morning when they are still fresh. But I have no intention of changing my timetable.

The abundance and variety of educational materials and games which Merle has collected and prepared for independent student use testify to her other great commitment to individualized instruction and freedom of choice for the learner. In discussing the language experience approach embodied in the innovative student-made dictionary idea she had adapted for use with this class, Merle described how a language arts colleague made a creative writing exercise progressively more difficult to challenge the brighter children. However, Merle said:

> I am still hesitant about moving the sets of lines closer and insisting that they stay within the lines. . . . I hate to push them.

Yet, this "romantic" notion of child development, with its reluctance to impose standards of quality on an unfolding human personality, seems contradicted by another statement Merle made when discussing the use and abuse of educational games.

> That is a concern of mine. Are they just playing? It should be more than that. I try to get them to see school as work. There can be a play element in it, but first they work, then they play.

More serious is the paradox between Merle's humanistic ideals and classroom exigencies which led her to resort to behaviorist tactics which constrain student freedom.

> When I first started teaching, I would never have used stars. Now I use Happy Faces all the time in marking. I just started to use stars last week. . . . At least it's better than yelling at them.

But Merle is an introspective teacher in many ways. Although she felt that she "should make more stuff because some of the kids might be bored with what is here," she wondered if her own current lack of enthusiasm were not the main reason for lack of student interest in some of the materials already available. On the other hand, she also questioned whether some students, like Kitty, would not have been better off in a more structured learning environment. When expressing admiration for the "organized, everything-in-its-place" classrooms of her grade one teacher colleagues, Merle often was self-critical.

> I just get started and there never seems to be time to finish anything. I'm disorganized, I guess. I'm too easily distracted. I admire that Agnes! Everything is just so! I'm not like that.

And, in another instance, as she looked back into her own classroom, she said:

> I used to be more organized, but not any more. I'm not a disciplinarian, nor an anti-disciplinarian. I guess I should have started off in a more organized fashion. I suppose I am willing to tolerate more mess than some would.

The problem of teacher "burnout" is a topic of current concern in the service profession. Merle seemed aware of the dangers of becoming consumed by the teaching role. She confessed to being "just exhausted at the end of the day." For new relaxation outlets, she had bought a piano and had taken up photography. Merle told me:

> In the evening I just like to relax, read, watch TV. I prepare my work at school.

David. The morning I met David, we were just on our way back from the gym, when a dark-haired, jean-clad body swung out of the classroom.

"Where were you guys?" he demanded.

"We were in the gym," said Merle. "And where were you, David?"

"Ah, that dumb sister of mine, she forgot to wake me up this morning."

Inside the classroom, as Merle distributed stars, the room grew momentarily silent. I heard a voice say, "I got six already!"

"So what!" growled David.

During the following language arts activity, row 1 had an altercation agout a pencil. Tracing the natural history of that event can get rather complicated. Elmer said he needed a pencil, so Sherman, obligingly, gave him his. But Elmer dug inside his desk and found his own pencil. Now Elmer had two pencils and David had none.

"I need one," said David, grabbing the pencil away from Elmer. Sherman ran up to me and complained. "David took my pencil. I don't have a pencil."

"Where's your pencil, David?" I asked.

"Ain't got none. Someone stole it."

I found another pencil for Sherman, who really wasn't interested in doing the work anyway. That's why he had given away his pencil in the first place.

When the afternoon bell rang, Merle, who was on noon supervision, walked into the room and switched off the lights.

"Quiet, please. I have to go to get my coat off. When I get back, the rows that are sitting quietly with their shoes on will get stars."

Some of the children started slipping on their shoes, others bent down to tie laces. The murmur of voices continued, but there was a general settling down. I noticed that row 1, with the exception of David, all had their shoes on. Suddenly, David stood up, reached over across the aisle, and pulled Elmer's hair. I got up, put my arms around David's shoulders, and guided him back to this desk.

"David, why don't you have your shoes on?" I asked.

"Ain't got none. My mom hasn't stole any for me yet," David blurted out, grinning.

Judy, who sat in front of David, explained. "David doesn't have any running shoes."

I sat down.

At story time, David, whose desk was last in the row, craned his neck, complaining that he couldn't see. Then he got up, walked to the front of the room, and sat down at Merle's feet. He listened attentively as she read "The Bold, Bad Buccaneers."

After the story, on his way back to his desk, David passed my table. "Whatcha doin'?" he asked.

"I'm writing," I replied, in my best Winnie-the-Pooh manner.

"Uh," said David, satisfied. He spun round and round on his toes until he reached his desk.

While the rest of the class worked on math, David placed his math book on top of his head and went visiting about the room, singing softly to himself.

After recess, during "cut, paste, and color the food groups" time, David spent the better part of the period searching for scissors.

Library story time, during the last period, was when David chose to whip out a wicked looking combination pocket knife. First he opened one blade, then another. He ignored my whispered request to put it away.

"I gotta clean my nails," he muttered.

As I edged closer to him, he slipped away to the front of the circle, and soon, engrossed in the story, he put the knife away.

Next morning, after Matt had spotted David in the hallway and David had failed to make an appearance in the classroom, Merle told me that David was being tested by the school counsellor. She filled me in on his home background. He was of native descent, his parents were separated, his mother worked, and his older sisters and brothers looked after him and his younger brother.

"You noticed David coming late? His sister was supposed to wake him up for school. That's the way it goes. I don't say too much to him about it--he makes it, he makes it. But at least he's coming to school more than he did last year. He's repeating grade one. He's just brought a new coloring book and crayons from home, so you'll see him just sitting there and coloring from time to time instead of working. Apparently, because of his younger brother, he can't use them at home, so he brought them to school."

Recesses always seemed more electrifying on the days David was in school. As the children came into the room one day after recess, David ripped off Elmer's toque and flung it across the room. I grabbed David and held on to him, but he slid down to the floor. I held on and--tickled him! I told him that the teacher would be coming in soon, and if she found him lying on the floor, he'd get no star for "being outside at recess."

David jumped up and ran to his desk. A few seconds later, he stuck out his foot and tripped Ralph, who began to cry. David winced and covered his eyes with his hands. I told him to tell Ralph he was sorry.

David ran over and patted Ralph gently on the head.

"Sorry, sorry."

David sat down quietly in his desk. He got a star.

Next day was 'needle' day for the grade one classes. While Merle led the children who were destined for needles to the nurses' station in the playroom, I stayed behind in the room, supervising the rest as they finished their snack and printed in their "nutrition" booklets. When the 'needle children' returned, they were very keyed up. Later, at recess, Merle learned that Ralph, a quiet, sensitive youngster with a perennially sad look on his face, had balked at the needle.

"I'm going to have to talk him into going," she whispered to me. "He plays around a lot in back alleys and stuff and his mother is not the kind who would take him for shots at the clinic. Could you look after things while I'm gone?"

Her gentle attempt at persuasion failed to work with Ralph, whose tense body was then half-carried, half-dragged from the room to the hallway where Merle tried "to talk him into it" on the bench outside the door. Ralph's cries and screams of protest had upset the class. There was a buzz of voices:

"He's scared to take the needle."

"He's been bad and she's taking him to the office for a strap," David nodded wisely.

"She took him out into the hall because he done something bad."

"Nah, he's just chicken. I saw him. He didn't want to take the needle."

Suddenly, I noticed Elmer chasing David who was grinning at him from across the room.

"He's got my crayons," wailed Elmer.

David grinned and brandished the crayon box.

I turned Elmer around and led him back to his desk, saying, "David's just playing a game. But let's not play it with him. You just sit down and ignore him. Just wait. We'll get them back."

Soon David danced back, tossing the crayons in the direction of Elmer's desk, then he swooped off Roddy's new toque, put it on his own head, and impishly darted away again. I grabbed Roddy, who was about to give chase, and settled him in his desk as I explained the rules of David's game. Just as before, David sailed past, toque in hand, then he pulled it down firmly over Roddy's head.

I grabbed David and led him to his desk. Cutting off his escape route by encircling him with my arms. I said as calmly as I could, "I have listened to other children read to me, but I haven't had a chance to hear you read, David. Do you think you could choose a favorite story book from the corner and we could share it together?"

To my relief, David rushed off to the book cupboards where he proceeded to pull out books right and left in a wild search for his favorite--The Meanie. We sat down together at the back table. I put my arm around him and held his body close. I could feel the tension drain out of him as he "read" me the story, largely by following picture clues and by inventing his own dialogue.

During an afternoon story time that week, he was fascinated by Merle's reading of I Can Lick Thirty Tigers Today. It was the book he had selected and checked out at the last library period.

On Friday, David and I did a geometry exercise together. Kneeling beside his desk, my arm around his back, I could see that David was not paying attention to Merle's instructions. He wanted to jump into the work right away without finding out how to do it. The exercise involved recognizing 2-D figures in 3-D sketches. I had a difficult time figuring out what the developers had meant because the sketches were not too clear. By covering up portions of the page, I was able to get David to proceed sequentially, from problem to problem. After he completed the page, David became restless as he waited for Merle and the rest of the class to finish and do the checking together. First, he poked a hole in the page with his pencil, then he drew a flower around it. Then he chewed a corner of the page. Waiting was very hard for David.

Carol. My field notes for the first day contained frequent references to "the little blonde girl who keeps coming up to the teacher and is either ignored or told to sit down." By the end of the week I had concluded that Carol's main problems were inability to listen and extreme distractability. Her frequent requests for help, which became diverted to me after a while, were usually prefaced by a pitiful smile and a whining, "Can you help me? I don't know what to do."

Carol does not know what to do because she is forever talking and visiting. "Chatty Cathy" I think to myself as she roams from desk to desk, seeking a stray pencil here, scissors there, or glue somewhere else. For some reason, her glue bottle is always the leakiest so that the top of her desk becomes a sticky mess and she has an excuse to wash her hands at the sink. This gives her an opportunity to chat with me at the back table, put her arms around me and hug me, or finger my wooden locket (which I foolishly wore one day).

There is something of a deductive Lolita about Carol in the way she walks and dresses and smiles. She likes to attract attention to herself. One morning, she arrived late and seemed to flounce down the aisle, carrying a shopping bag full of brown paper grocery bags (for Merle who likes to send work home in big bags). Carol was wearing her mother's torn panty hose and an off-white boucle dress which became more and more off-white as the week progressed.

"Lookit," she grinned at me, as she tossed her short blonde freshly-set curls and her golden earrings gleamed in her pierced ears. "I'm wearing my mother's nylons!"

Doug, who was standing nearby, leered. "Do it again!" She did it again.

One morning she came in carrying a huge doll. After removing her coat, she placed the doll upright beside her in the desk and shot approving glances in its direction every few seconds. After the physical education period with the system consultant, to Merle's annoyance a small cluster of female admirers had formed around Carol's desk. Merle confiscated the doll. Later, during the library period, a chagrined Carol sought solace and comfort in my lap as she fingered my locket during story time.

Doug. Doug is the Palisades male counterpart of Carol. Both are local residents and both often linger around the school in order to escape the drabness of their other existence. Doug has a weight problem, clearly visible in the rolls of flesh straining the stained fabric of his tee-shirt and his tight jeans. Like Carol, Doug has to have the instructions repeated and repeated and repeated. He is forever about to get ready to get started. When he does start, it is often in the wrong book or on the wrong page.

Doug daydreams a lot. He can sit in his desk, his eyes fixed on the truck calendar that Sherman brought one day. Sherman's father is a long-distance truck driver. Doug's father is a mechanic. Doug manages to hide all kinds of little plastic colored cars and trucks in the folds of his jeans and, contrary to classroom rules, he can set up an instant highway or race course on top of his desk. Lacking a car, a pencil will do equally as well.

Doug loves sharing time when he can present rambling accounts of his family or his adventures. Here is one such example, delivered in an excited voice which rises in mid-sentence:

"Yesterday? I went to Safeway? after school. . . and, and, I went off this ramp? and I landed in this woman's backyard? She asked me how I got there?" Doug chuckled in recollection. "And I said, 'Flew!'"

"How did you get out of the yard?" asks Merle, helping him along. "Was there a gate, or something?"

Doug thinks a moment, then replies, "Yeah. . . there was kinda a gate, or sum'pin." He climbs off the stool and lets someone else share the centre of the stage.

Since Doug seems to have so much trouble completing anything, I decide to help him with his math exercise. I kneel beside his desk. His math book page is scribbled all over in pencil.

"What are those chicken tracks doing on your page?" I ask.

Doug grins.

"Don't you think you'd better erase them before you begin?"

"I got no eraser," says Doug helplessly, a twinkle in his eye, nonetheless.

I ask Merle, who is walking past, if there are any extra erasers because Doug needed one.

"I don't know what they do with them." Merle shakes her head. "I gave them all new erasers just a month ago. Why don't you borrow one from someone, Doug?"

Erika, eavesdropping, offers her eraser. Doug erases vigorously, using his left hand. In no time, he has ripped part of the page, but the pencil imprint still remains. Merle, passing by again, hands me a Happy Face marker.

I turn to Doug and ask him to do the first "number story."

"Dunno no number stories," answers Doug, puzzled.

"Well, then," I continue, "tell me what it says here." I point to the numbers and signs in succession. Doug is able to read the entire equation without any difficulty. He writes a lop-sided 8 in the box after the equation.

"How do you know that's an 8?" I ask him.

Doug grins. "Just know. Lucky, I guess."

"How can you tell whether the answer is correct? How can we check your answer?"

Doug quickly counts the number sets in the picture, glances at his answer, looks at me, and grins. In the next question there are no accompanying pictures. Doug plays with his pencil, twining it through his fingers until it falls down.

"Read what it says here, Doug," I say firmly, focusing his attention on each part of the equation which he reads correctly. He writes another 8 in the next box.

"How do we know that's right?" I ask.

"Dunno," shrugs Doug.

"Let's use the number line at the top of the page, Doug," I suggest, guiding his pencil to the correct spot.

Doug performs the operation correctly.

"Correct!" he says, grinning with satisfaction at his earlier answer. Just as he starts the next equation, the music teacher appears in the doorway. People are still wandering about the room.

"Put your pencil down, Doug. It's time for music."

He throws the pencil down and it rolls off the desk and on to the floor. Doug strolls over to the line forming near the door.

Later, after recess, Merle announces above the din in the room:

"Finish up your math books please. I have some pictures to show you." The lights go off. The noise continues. "Freeze!" says Merle, a bit more firmly than usual. "For marking, I need quiet. If you have finished your math, leave your math books open at the right page so that Mrs. Odynak or I can mark them."

As Merle and the children drift over to the carpet area where Merle sets up a slide projector, I move in the direction of Doug's desk. He is playing with his scissors. I "lean on him a little bit" until the page is finished. I stamp a Happy Face on it for Doug. With a Happy Face in his book (he seldom gets any) and wearing a happy face, he scampers off to join the group on the carpet.

Next morning, when Group 1 has a Language Arts teacher-directed activity on the carpet, Merle announces, "Group 2, since most of you finished your work yesterday with the help of Mrs. Odynak, see if you can find some old work to correct, or you may do some cubbyhole game activities." I am dismayed. Have I interfered with her approach to individualized instruction? Did she really expect Doug and others like him to complete unfinished work independently?

Jennifer. A little blonde-haired girl with French braids and a Brownie uniform is sent out of the group "hockey" in the gym and told to sit down beside Sheila, who is still struggling to tie her too-long laces. The little girl lies down on the dusty floor, glances in my direction, and says, poutingly, "I'm sleepy." As the children shoot the pucks over to the east wall, Merle walks over to me and tells me in a quiet voice, "Jennifer has a problem. She had hydrocephalus at birth--you may have noted her large head--and she had many operations. She's doing much better this year than last year. She is repeating grade one.

But she still has serious problems with social skills."

Back in the classroom, while Merle works with Group 2 on the carpet, members of Group 1 (including Jennifer) are expected to complete any unfinished work and then they may do "cubbyhole activities." Jennifer finishes her phonics assignment and asks me for a Happy Stamp. I direct her to Merle. Jennifer places her phonics book in the cubbyhole storage area, then goes to a side cupboard and plays with a yellow laminated clock face and a set of cards which have different times on them. I come closer and watch what Jennifer is doing. She draws a card, reads the time, then sets the hands of the clock to the correct time. Then she turns the card over and checks the clock face with the time set on the large clock. She goes through the entire set of cards with no difficulty.

Next, Jennifer walks over to the cupboards in the reading corner near the carpet, chooses some small books and carried them to the back where she sits down on the floor. The clock activity is left on the floor. After a few minutes, she is joined by Betty, who plays with puzzle cards. Soon, Elmer, his unfinished work completed, and Judy join Jennifer on the floor. They look through the little books that Jennifer has brought from the cupboard. Judy reads silently. Suddenly, Jennifer wants the book Judy is reading. Judy resists. Jennifer throws down the book she is reading and says, looking in my direction, "This book is sick, sick, sick, sick! This is the sickest book I've ever seen." She reaches over and takes another book from a pile near Elmer. Elmer protests, "Hey, I'm looking through those." Jennifer ignores him.

A few minutes later, Jennifer slides closer and closer to where I have been sitting, watching the little group interact. "I'll read this book to you," she offers. She proceeds to read "The Meanie," a story of how a little girl disobeys her babysitting older sister. She calls her "Meanie." I am surprised at how well Jennifer reads. Judy looks over Jennifer's shoulder and prompts occasionally.

"Stop it!" says Jennifer crossly.

As Jennifer browses through the remaining books, I return to the table to make notes. I look up. Jennifer is standing there and now wants me to read to her the same book she had just read to me! I tell her that I have to do some writing and maybe some other time we can share another book together. Jennifer stands her ground.

"I want you to read it to me!" she orders. I can hear in the background that Merle is shifting to another activity. Jennifer leaves when she hears Merle say they have to get ready for lunch time.

At noon I ask Merle if she thinks Jennifer has memorized the booklet.

"No," says Merle, "she probably knows the words, but her comprehension is poor. I'm sure if you asked her to tell the story in her own words, she wouldn't be able to do it. She is a repeater also. Last year she used to scream and have temper tantrums if she couldn't have her own way. The other children would have nothing to do with her. She's acting much better this year."

At noon one day, I overhear Jennifer and Kitty talking about me in the cloakroom. One of them says, "We don't have to listen to her. She's not a teacher." A few minutes later, Jennifer goes to the cupboard, finds "The Meanie" and brings it to my table. I am writing notes.

"Read it to me!" she commands.

When I decline politely, suddenly Jennifer rips off my glasses and pulls up my blouse. She glares at me.

Startled, I pin her arms to her sides and say as sternly as possible: "Jennifer, don't you ever do that to me or to any one else again. Do you understand?"

I stare at her. She stares back. Her eyes are steely.

She never approaches me to read the book again. A few days later, she declares a truce. She brings her corrected reading workbook for me to check her corrections. She cannot understand some of the questions. I have to read the small print at the bottom of the page to know how to assist. The work is messy, carelessly done.

From time to time, I notice that when Jennifer gets excited or over-stimulated by what is happening in the classroom, she likes to swivel her head, or sometimes she gets up on the seat of her desk and swivels her backside. On "needle" day when the whole room was excited, I overheard Jennifer talking to her pencil which had fallen on the floor. "You bad, bad pencil! Running away all the time!" She struck it against the desk a few times. "Spank! Spank! Spank!"

Dick. A sturdy, moon-faced boy with short, close-cropped curls, mutters to himself in one corner of the gym. A few minutes earlier, just as I had walked in through the door, Merle had pointed a finger at him where he was playing roughly in the middle of the group. It was the same gym class where I had first met Jennifer.

"Dick!" says Merle as she points to the opposite wall. Dick throws down his hockey stick, walks over to the opposite side of the gym, and slumps down against the wall. He sulks. A few minutes later, as the activity changes, Merle brings out hula hoops and beckons to Sheila and Jennifer and Dick to join the rest of the group. Dick stays at his wall.

On our way back to the classroom, Merle whispers to me, "Dick, too, has many problems. He had cancer when he was in kindergarten, and he's had chemotherapy and radiation. He was very ill at one time. To add to his problems, his family has moved around a lot. This is his second year in grade one."

In the classroom on the days that followed, I notice that Dick often "marches to the sounds of his own drummer." He ignores Merle's instructions to put books and pencils away or to get ready for the next activity. He scowls a lot and often makes "mewing" kitten-like sounds. When denied his own way, he mutters, "It's not fair. It's not fair." One day he appears in thick, steel-rimmed glasses. His last pair had been broken during a schoolyard fight.

Since Dick was often one of the "stragglers" when it was time to go to gym or to the library, he and I became frequent partners as we walked down the hallway. During library period that first week, I noticed that after the story, most of the children browsed through the books that the librarian had set out or chose their own books from the shelves. Dick seemed to wander about aimlessly, his lower lip hanging in a pout. I decided to initiate a conversation with him about books.

"Dick, I'm a stranger in this school and in this library," I said. "Do you think you could show me where some of the good books are? Do you have any favorites?"

"Nah," said Dick, but his face brightened as he walked over to the book section. Then he lapsed into his customary apathy.

"I don't know any good books," he whined.

"Sure, you do," I said, reaching over and selecting one at random--anything to keep the conversation going. It was a book about following the sun, a science book well above grade one level. We both sat down and looked at the pictures. I was surprised at how much he knew about how the sun casts shadows. As we worked our way through the illustrations (which he interpreted with remarkable accuracy and knowledge), he commented, "See that--that's a picture of the earth in space. It's called a planet." However, his enthusiasm, momentarily stirred, did not last long enough for him to check out that book or any other book.

When I related my experiences with Dick in the library to Merle, she said, "I'm not surprised that Dick's interested in science. His father works at the university." She paused. "But I really think Dick needs help, counselling perhaps. He's the oldest of three children and he tends to regress a lot."

Later, during gym period, Dick suddenly dropped his stick and walked over to the nearest wall where he sat and scowled. "There's Dick, dropping out of an activity again," said Merle, in an aside to me. "Every once in a while he refuses to play." I decide to walk over and join him. I sit down beside him. He pouts.

He tells me that he does not like to play this kind of "kid" hockey. "Now if there were ice here, I'd play," he says. We talk about hockey and skating and I learn that his skates are too big. I tell him I can't skate very well. I fall down often.

"Yeah," says Dick. "That must hurt. You know, when something hurts really bad, it feels hot."

When Merle changes the activity, I suggest that he show me how to stick handle properly. We both get sticks and in no time he has shown me up. He chuckles.

My growing closer relationship with Dick, however, could cause problems, particularly since he seems resentful when I'm "partners" with someone else. I discuss this with Merle.

"Dick needs a friend," says Merle.

When Merle introduces the language experience approach in a creative writing lesson one morning, I help Dick compose his story. He insists on doing all of the exercise, including the last sentence which begins with the stem: "I love my mother because......" "She'll like that," says Dick, as he prints neatly and carefully on the ruled paper. His work can be neat, I notice, looking through some of the pages in his math book. I work with him in completing a math exercise so that he can get a Happy Face. He works only when I urge him to carry on, and even then, he lapses into petulance occasionally. Suddenly, after what I think has been a fruitful afternoon producing quality work, Dick becomes sulky. He puts his head down on the desk. He refuses to talk. Next day, he tells me, "I was sick coming home on the bus yesterday." His mother had bought him a new toque which he now wears constantly.

I wonder. Is he still being treated for his cancer?

I met his mother at the bus shelter one day after school. We got into a conversation about the school. I mentioned that I was doing a study of a grade one classroom.

"Oh? I have a son in grade one in that school."

"What's his name?"

"His name is Dick. He's repeating grade one."

And that is all she said about him.

Starting with a Crisis at Both Ends

January 28, 1980

Merle and I had arranged to meet during her 'prep' time on Monday, the day she planned to begin Kanata Kit 1. I arrive at the school just as recess ends. The music teacher is waiting at the door to Merle's classroom. As soon as she has led the children out of the room, Merle walks to the back of the room where she begins searching through a box.

"I haven't really done very much more than when I last saw you," says Merle, as she examines some pictures. "When I looked through the set of pictures in the kit, I thought it was odd that there was only one picture in the section marked 'miscellaneous'. So I decided to add some pictures from my picture file."

As we walk toward the staff room, Merle continues the conversation. "My timelines are not really set, but I was thinking of doing it in four parts, each part taking about two weeks. I'm usually not as conscious of time," she grins. "But with you here, I am thinking more about it."

In the staff room, we examine the set of study prints showing the five different family groups. "These are really good," Merle comments. "They look like family snapshots, not like something posed in a studio." I tell Merle personal details about how the photography decisions were made and how some of the problems were resolved. For example, we couldn't get the Jamaican grandmother who lived with the family into the picture because she was forever traveling. However, she appears as one of the characters or persons on the audiotapes. Her voice, like that of other families' members, was simulated by actors and actresses. Some of the original pictures taken by the first photographer had to be retaken because, for technical reasons, they were not suitable for enlargement into study prints. Consequently, we had to limit the second round of shots to specific concepts in order not to trouble the five cooperating families excessively. During the second photography session, a grandmother in one of the families in the kit died, so the photographer had to postpone the scheduled meeting with the family. Just talking about the different families makes me think of them as friends I once knew rather intimately, if only through their interview notes, pictures, and telephone contacts.

Sounds in the hallway indicate that the music lesson is over. Merle and I return to the classroom. The music teacher, who is standing in the doorway, looks unhappy. She converses with Merle in an undertone, and I overhear snatches of ". . .behavior. . . " and some names like "David, Dick, Matt, and Carol." Carol is playing with a package of cake mix which soon spills over her desk. "Gimme some," I can hear from people around her.

At 2:55 P.M. Merle switches the lights on and off. She looks sternly at the children. She tells them that the music teacher has just given her some very disappointing news about their behavior in the music class.

"Carol, what are you doing?" Merle asks suddenly.

"Nothing," says Carol, squirming, as she sweeps the cake mix off the desk with the palm of her hand. She licks her hand.

"Well, you must have been doing something to have all those people hanging around your desk."

Silence from Carol.

"Carol, I want you to tell me what you were doing before you leave at the end of the day. Do you understand?" asks Merle.

Meanwhile, Elmer, who had moved his desk, is now wrestling with David. Merle walks over and pulls Elmer's desk all the way to the back of the room. Elmer's face clouds over. Merle returns to the front of the room. David throws a piece of eraser under Elmer's desk. Elmer picks it up and puts it inside his desk. He glares at David. David grins back from behind his hands.

Merle instructs the children to "come to the carpet and set out the pillows." They start rushing to the front. She stops them with her hand like a traffic director. They have to come up by rows, as they are called, she insists. There is an uneasy quietness about the room. She is annoyed and they know it. Dick remains in his desk when his row is called. David leaves his black cowboy hat behind when he comes to the carpet. As the pillows are scattered about, Merle asks someone "to share a pillow with Katherine," the new student who has just transferred to the school.

Merle introduces Kanata Kit 1 by saying, "So far we have been talking about our own families. Some of you have even brought pictures of your family to class during sharing time. And some of you had to take them back right away. Now we are going to talk about other families. We have some pictures of these families and these pictures stay in that black box over there."

She holds up a study print of one of the Kanata Kit family groups. "This is a family." She shows another study print of a crowd scene. "This is not a family." Then she asks, "How can you tell which is a family, which is not a family?" Some of the children's responses are:

"They're all going a different way."

"They are not together."

Merle displays a picture of a building from her files. "This is not a family. This is a place to visit." She shows another laminated picture of an old woman, and says, "This is not a family."

From where I sit at the back, the supplementary pictures she has chosen are too small and dark to distinguish clearly, so I move closer to the carpet area. I sit next to the cupboards, just behind the group on the carpet. Three children are lying on their pillows.

After stacking the pictures on the chalkboard ledge, Merle asks the children to find their thumbs, a strategy similar to the one suggested in the kit, but also one that she uses often in her language arts activities. "When I show you a picture that you think is a family, then show 'thumbs up.' When I show you a picture that you think is not a family, show 'thumbs down.'" The children wiggle their thumbs.

The first picture shown is from her files and is of a woman seated at a loom. "Is this a family?" asks Merle.

A chorus of "No!" Only a few children show 'thumbs down.' However, someone says, "It could be a family. That old woman could be a grandmother and that could be someone behind her."

Merle peers at the picture more closely.

"Oh, I thought there was only one person in the picture. Maybe there is someone else there in the shadows. But I think that is not a family."

She picks up another black and white print from her files that shows two adults and two children walking down a road, their bodies silhouetted against a light. "Is this a family?" she asks. "Why? How can we tell?"

" 'Cause they're walking together," someone replies.

"Yes," confirms Merle. "This is a family."

David, who has been rolling around on the floor, is sent to his desk.

Merle continues. She shows a picture taken from her files of a family having Thanksgiving dinner. "Is this a family?"

"Yes," someone says, "there's a mom, a grandpa, and a grandma, some kids, and a dog.

The next picture, also from her files, shows a group of children. "Is this a family?"

"No, there should be grown-ups," a voice says. "There's only children."

Next, she shows a picture from her files of a mother, a father, and a baby, and, before she can ask the question, someone calls out, "Now that's a family, Mom, dad, and baby."

Another picture of a shopping mall scene, from her files, is shown and someone says, "No, that's not a family. There are about 100 people."

The last picture shown is another family group picture from Kanata Kit 1 which the children readily identify as "a father, mother, a boy, and another boy or girl."

Merle arranges the pictures horizontally along the chalkboard ledge. Then, chalk in hand, she asks, "Who can tell me what a family is?" as she prints: 'A family is....' and waits for the children's responses. She adds, 'people who live together' when somebody gives that response. Soon someone else adds, "They play together." Merle uses ditto marks, printing 'play' under the work 'live' in the first ending. The children continue in a similar fashion, supplying other endings that are all examples of playing together, e.g., 'ski together,' 'swim together.'

Merle does not accept these as additional attributes of a family, explaining that they are all ways of playing together. The children play with the pillows. Suddenly, Matt is sent to his desk.

Merle leaves behind the concept-attainment strategy culminating in a definition of the family that was outlined in the kit. She moves to the "follow-up" portion on family portraits.

"You have been bringing in your family pictures. I'm sure that in one of your pictures I saw a lot of family pictures arranged on the wall. Now we are going to draw our own family pictures." She tells them to return to their desks. Before distributing copies of Student Master No. 1 in the kit, she holds up a copy and says, "On this page, draw the people who live at your house all the time."

David calls out, "My grandmother."

Merle looks at him in disbelief and says, "Does she live with you?"

"Yes," replies David.

Merle tries another approach. "Will she be sleeping at your house tonight?"

"Nope," says David. "She left yesterday."

Merle re-phrases the instructions. "Just draw those people who sleep at your house everyday because they live there."

"Where do you draw the pets?" someone asks.

Merle hesitates. She looks at me. I smile but say nothing.

"Draw your pets," says Merle, "if you have any, outside the frame here." She points to the page.

Roddy asks, "And the baby?"

Merle looks at Roddy. "Roddy, your baby has not been born yet. You will be able to draw that picture after your mother brings the baby home from the hospital."

"How can you draw a picture," someone sneers, "when the baby isn't born yet? It has no hair, no eyes."

Merle adds another exclusion. "The people living upstairs or downstairs at your house don't count. They belong to different families." Then, she remembers something else. "Oh, yes, the words should be printed on the chalkboard." She proceeds to print: mother, father, brother, sister, self. Someone suggests, "Me." Merle says, "Yes, you can put me if you like." But another child says, "My(me), that doesn't make sense." "Put whatever you wish," says Merle. "Myself, or cross out 'my' and put just 'Me.'" She pauses. "When you are finished, your pictures will go on the bulletin board."

Just then the principal appears in the doorway. After a whispered conference, Merle comes into the room.

She seems flustered. She looks at Ralph.

"Ralph, I didn't know you were leaving us." To the rest of the class, she says, "Ralph will be going to another school tomorrow." She walks over and talks quietly with Ralph.

I walk around the room helping the children, who have received their copies of the student master and now want to know how to print different role relationship words. "How do you write 'brother'?" "How do you spell 'sister'?" I point to the words on the chalkboard. Dick, minus his glasses again, complains he can't see. Rosie wants to know how to spell 'cousin.'

"Does your cousin live with you, Rosie?" I ask, then print the word after she nods. Someoone wants the word 'uncle' and I print that on the board. A number of children want 'baby sister' or 'baby brother' so I add 'baby' to the list on the board. Charlie finishes in no time at all, having scribbled in one frame, then in another, without bothering to print. I ask him to finish. "I don't want to," he replies.

Merle starts hanging the pictures on the bulletin board as they are brought to her. Few have bothered to color them. She seems so distracted, I offer to hang them up while she tends to Ralph. I imagine he needs a transfer or something. She seems grateful as she starts looking through her desk, finds his report card, and pulls out some papers. Ralph brings his workbooks from the cubbyholes. She glances through them, muttering, "This hasn't been marked yet." She goes back to her desk, looks up, and tells the children to clean up and get ready for home. Ralph starts packing his possessions in a large plastic bag she has given him. She looks up. "Don't take the scissors," she says. "And the glue?" Ralph asks. "Not the glue, either," she mumbles as she continues to search for something on her desk. The principal reappears and Ralph leaves with him.

By this time, most of the children have dressed and left. Merle walks through the room. She stoops, picks something up. "I wonder why row 1 didn't clean up?" she asks. Doug and several others are still hanging around. The principal returns. He surveys the scene.

"Doug," he says, when he sees him. "Your mother has been phoning us that you are coming home late after school. Hurry up now!"

Doug leaves, but a few minutes later, he's back. "I forgot something," he mutters. He goes to the cloakroom, looks around, then saunters out of the room.

I sit waiting for Merle in the staff room. Through the doorway, I can see her with Ralph and the principal as they sort out more papers.

Soon the principal enters.

"How's it going?" he asks.

"Oh, it's coming along." He asks again how long I'll be doing the study. I answer him again. Would he be available for a chat one of these days. I'd like to interview him about the school in general.

"Anytime I have some more time," he states. "Right now, I'm busy with meetings and school-based budgeting, and so on. But I'd really like to have a talk with you about these new materials. A sort of five minute workshop." He chuckles. "I always mean to sit down and read up on all that's happening, but I never seem to have the time." I assure him that there's still plenty of time since I'll be around for awhile.

"Yeah," he says, "we need more studies like yours about what really happens to new materials. More feedback and stuff."

Merle enters the room and flops down exhausted on the lounge. "Boy, what a way to start off something new--a crisis at both ends! First, trouble in the music class, then a sudden transfer. Whew!"

Since Merle was catching the same bus as I was (she preferred not to drive in such cold weather), we walked to the bus stop together, chatting about things in general--child rearing, mostly. Anything but the kit. She wasn't in the mood for post-interactive evaluation. Neither was I.

I thought it had been an average lesson. She had telescoped Taba's concept attainment strategy somewhat, and the definition of the family had not been too successful, but she had obviously done some advance preparation.

What If They Decide Not to Work?

January 29, 1980

The bitterly cold weather continues, but I am still determined to put in a full day's observation, so I arrive at the school just as morning classes begin at 8:50 A.M. Merle is passing out stars as I enter the classroom. She looks surprised. "I didn't expect to see you this early," she says as she rearranges the desks now that she has gained one student and lost another. "The buses are late," she informs a neatly dressed woman who appears in the doorway, "so he's not here yet." I start a new seating plan, struggling to match names and faces.

The day's work begins. With the help of the timetable, I now know that she usually takes Group 1 to the carpeted area for a language arts activity, while members of Group 2 are expected to do any unfinished work, correct errors in marked work, and then, only then, do "cubbyhole activities" or games. I decide to focus on how people from Group 2 go about making these decisions.

Matt, who doesn't bother to check if there's any unfinished work, goes directly to the side cupboards. His motto is clearly: "First play, and then work, only if you can't get away with it." David joins him from across the room. David chooses the orange math board game and he tells Matt to bring the cards. Matt walks to the front of the room, crosses the carpet, and rummages in the side cupboards. David follows, laying the board game down near the carpeted area.

"Matt. David." Merle calls out to them in a slightly thick voice as if she were catching a cold. They ignore her. "Matt! David!" she says slightly louder, "would you move that to the back of the room please?

Make sure you two talk quietly so you don't disturb the rest of the class." The two pick up the math board game and move to the back, dropping the board to the floor and sitting beside it. Matt holds the stack of combination cards, some of which face up, some face down. Matt starts ordering David around. He speaks in a loud, flat voice. Out of the corner of my eye, I can see Doug, also a member of Group 2, just sitting in his desk and staring at the walls.

I move closer to Matt and David. Sitting down on the floor next to them, I ask politely, "May I watch you play?" Just then, Charlie and another well-bundled child burst into the room, shouting, "The bus was late! The bus was late!" They undress and join the group on the carpet. I turn back to the boys playing the game. I notice that sometimes, when it is David's turn to call out the combination question (equation) and its answer, he counts his fingers. Matt holds on to the cards. He calls out his answer, regardless of whether David has finished his move on the board.

Suddenly there is much loud crying in the hallway. Merle looks up, but goes on with her lesson. A voice in the hallway asks, "Are your feet cold?" A child wails. Soon several more children file into the room, carrying their lunch kits. They are bundled up to their eyes. They undress and join the appropriate group.

I continue to watch Matt and David play the game. Matt often reads the equation incorrectly. For example: 4+5=____ is read as 5+5= how many? Matt turns the card over, reads the correct answer, 9, and then calls out his answer. He moves his marker each time. This happens several times. Matt does not let David see the cards. Instead, he reads the equation for him, and while David is trying to calculate on his fingers, Matt does not wait for David's answer.

Although the game is supposed to involve two players who alternate turns, Matt is really playing the game by himself. But then, Matt does seem to "march to the sounds of his own drummer" in most classroom activities that I have observed. Often, while Merle and the other children are engaged in a whole class discussion or are reviewing the rules about classroom behavior (again and again), it is not uncommon to see Matt suddenly leave his desk. He likes to wander over to the cubbyholes to select a book. Sometimes he saunters over to a picture on the wall that has suddenly caught his eye. At other times I have seen him sketching racing cars (a real passion with Matt) after Merle has instructed the class to get their phonics book or their math booklet. Sometimes he sneaks out for a drink at the water fountain in the hallway or he visits the washroom without asking permission, choosing opportunities when Merle is too busy with the rest of the class to notice his absence.

It is difficult for me to feel close to Matt. Perhaps it is his voice that puts me off. Matt speaks in a flat, unpleasant nasal tone that seldom drops to a whisper. He also tends to be bossy, telling other children what they ought to be doing but seemingly unaware of his own behavior which is often at odds with the on-going activity. It is no wonder that Merle frequently reminds him to "Look after Matt. The rest will look after themselves."

As I watch Matt and David play the math game, I notice how Matt has taken control of the game situation. Since he holds all the cards, Matt is able to adjust the rules to his own advantage. David, however, tries to play by the rules. While he struggles to answer, Matt moves his own marker ahead on the gameboard. In no time, Matt has a substantial lead.

When they get into a dispute over whose turn it is to move ahead, I ask Matt to place the stack of cards face down so that they can both take turns drawing a card, holding it for the other to see, and then answering the question.

"I don't want to play this game any more," Matt responds. "My feet get tired, you know." He leaves. I ask David if I can finish the game with him. David, watching Matt leave, yells, "Chicken! chicken! You're chicken." When he turns back to the game, I suggest we shuffle and rearrange the cards so that they are all face down on the floor. We then take turns holding up a card for the other to read the equation while the person holding the card looks at the answer on the reverse side. "I like this game," David says. He has no difficulty with most of the smaller combinations, using his fingers for those involving 5s and 6s. Occasionally, he gets up, runs to his desk nearby, whips out his mauve nutrition booklet and looks at something. I watch more closely. David has drawn his own number line on the cover of the booklet. Whenever he has to figure out combinations involving 8s and 9s, he uses the number line.

The game goes on. He misses only twice, but to keep up his enthusiasm, for he is falling behind on the board, I tell him, when the next "hard" combination involving 8 or 9 comes up, "Because this is a tough one, David, if you get the correct answer you get a bonus--you can move ahead two spaces instead of one." He grins, figures it out with the help of the number line, and moves his marker ahead. Soon he is ahead of me and emerges the winner. I congratulate him, praise im for being so careful, and ask if he wants to play another round. He starts to put the game away. I compliment him on that too, for being considerate of others by putting the game away.

Meanwhile, Group 1 has begun a printing and language activity. Judy explains to me what they have to do. They are to make up another sentence about the house. She has started her sentence and needs the word "spooky." I print it in her dictionary, after she quickly finds the correct location by alphabetical order. The student teacher, who had entered the classroom sometime that morning, is walking up and down the rows, helping the children with the words.

"Can you help me?" Doug calls. He is finishing his printing exercise from the day before. However, the sentence he is supposed to have copied off the board has been erased, so he is trying to copy from someone else's booklet. He complains. "The writing is all pushed together and I can't see it. Can you help me?" I take a page from my note pad, print the sentence for Doug, and then hand the model to him. "Now that's more like it," he says as he laboriously copies each letter.

An announcement over the intercom asks the teachers to count the children who ride the buses to see if some are still missing. The transit system will send out another bus, if necessary. Merle asks the children who are walking about to sit down so she can count them. The lights go on and off. She gives out stars, then asks them to line up for gym. After a lengthy review of the rules for walking through the hallway, Merle asks them to try very hard in gym today because the student teacher wants to know how well they can play floor hockey.

When they leave, I enter the staff room and decide to make a "thick description" of the variety of data in the staff room. People come and go. As I write at the table, I eavesdrop on their conversations, most of which seem to centre on student discipline. One of the other grade one teachers complains to the vice-principal about one of her students. He promises to drop in and give him a "little pep talk."

I become so absorbed in describing the staff room, I fail to hear Merle and her class return from the gym. When I come back to the classroom, Merle is sitting on the step stool at the front, demonstrating the use of a simple math calculator which she says can be used after they've done their work, "during cubbyhole time," and if they're "careful not to leave it on for too long and use up its batteries." For the remaining time before recess, she issues the following instructions:

"Group 1, I really want you to finish writing those stories you started this morning. Then, if you are finished, you have two choices. You may wish to make up stories about your own family, just like those we already have on the bulletin board. I wrote a story about my family and put it up on the bulletin board too. See if you can make up a story about your family. That is your first choice." She walks over to the bulletin board and points to some of the family portrait pictures that have been colored. "Your second choice is," she pauses, "to color the pictures you have drawn of your family. Do you see how easy it is to see some of these that have been colored?"

Turning to Group 2, as Group 1 begins to move around noisily, Merle continues her instructions. "Group 2, I would like you to do some more work on the family portraits you started last day. You may wish to finish the printing, or you may wish to add more pictures of your family members."

I decide to walk around and observe individual students at their desks. I help some of the people in Group 1 with their stories. Katherine, the new student, seems uncertain about how to use her copy of the scribbler dictionary she has just received. After helping Katherine, I move toward Judy's desk in response to her request for help. However, by the time I arrive, Judy has found the word she needed and has completed the exercise independently. As I pass Jennifer's desk, she asks for help in printing a new word in her dictionary. I notice that her story has hugh periods after nearly every word. I wonder whether I should give a little lesson in grammar and punctuation. After borrowing an eraser, Jennifer is prepared to place a period at the end of the sentence and to start her next sentence with a capital letter. The activity continues until the buzzer sounds for recess.

During the recess break, the student teacher and I go to the office where the secretary obligingly answers the student teacher's questions about the school as part of her observation assignment. I listen to their conversation, using the secretary as an informant to learn that there are 170 students bused to the school, and that there are three parent volunteers to supervise the lunch room.

After recess, Merle distributes more stars, and then she begins the language arts combined activities for Groups 1 and 2--"calendar" and "sharing time." Jennifer does "calendar" and Doug, who has brought several pictures of his family, begins the "sharing" session. Merle suggests that he write some stories about his family for the bulletin board. Then, Katherine climbs the stool and displays her family's pictures. Suddenly, Merle reminds Adam that the speech therapist is in today and wants to see him.

When the sharing is over, Merle walks over to the bulletin board and says, "Let's look here a minute." She points to specific family portraits and counts, "Terri has drawn five pictures of her family, Adam has drawn four." She seems to be trying to focus their attention on the different family sizes and structures. Suddenly she turns and says, after glancing at the clock, "Patrol people, you may leave for lunch."

Then, moving to the carpeted area, Merle announces, "Group 2 people, I'd like you to come to the front, please. Form a circle. Do not bring chairs or pillows." As she waits for the group to assemble, she notices David rolling on the carpet, bumping into people. "David, stop that!" she says sharply. He mumbles. She adds in a voice that carries to the back of the room, "You can stop complaining. You can't expect to play all the time. School is for working also." After a vocabulary review with Group 2, she proceeds to give detailed instructions on how they are to do the last page in their reading workbooks. After one of the children brings her a workbook, she says, "Now this page is tricky. You have to be a detective and look out for the tricky questions. Sometimes, when you read the first sentence, two words seem to fit." She does the first example with them, pauses to scan the page, chooses another example, and then reads and explains how to get the answer.

"If you don't know the answer, skip that question. I am warning you not to guess. I will subtract all those you get wrong from those you get right. Just to make sure you do your own work and nobody copies, I am going to tell you where to sit." She then distributes them throughout the room. As the members of Group 2 get their workbooks and settle down in their assigned places to do the series "test," I notice that people in Group 1 have selected various cubbyhole games and activities and are working quietly and individually at their desks.

Carol asks the student teacher to help her. The student teacher proceeds to do so until I whisper to her that it's some sort of test that Merle wants them to do on their own. Carol glares at me. She is sitting quite a distance from anyone else and has made all kinds of squiggles and marks on her page, but has not done any of the questions. Merle is in the hallway, talking to Matt. Then she enters the room and talks to the student teacher, and soon she tells the children to get ready for lunch by putting their things away. As the bell sounds, Carol, already dressed, passes the student teacher and me near the cloakroom. She leans over toward the student teacher and says, "Kiss, kiss," then shoots a significant look in my direction.

Merle approaches us. "Did you see Matt's temper tantrum?" I hadn't. "When I told him to settle down and do his work, he got angry and ripped the page. I asked him if he wanted me to send it home in an envelope for his parents to see what work he does in school." Merle then proceeds to talk about Matt's home environment. "His father is a big, heavy construction worker type; his mother seems rather 'harsh.' I suspect that Matt might have a rough time at home. His father was away much of the time when Matt was younger, and his mother's had to cope with a lot, probably a drinking problem is in there, too, but I think he joined a group or something. But it must have been rough there earlier."

When I related my observation of David and Matt's game that morning, she nods and we walk toward the lunchroom. "There's something basically decent about David," she says. "When he's treated with respect, he seems to respond with some dignity. But at other times, he explodes, becomes violent, lashes out. But I just don't know about Matt. I just can't seem to reach him. You know, I think he's probably going to repeat the year."

During the lunch room hour, most of the staff talk in the area where I sit seems to revolve around student discipline. One of the staff, a petite brunette, is a beginning teacher who is forever seeking or getting advice on how to handle students who are disrupting her class. Most days she listens patiently and asks further questions. Today, she seems somewhat exasperated. At one point, she blurts out, "Why is it the school that has to do so much adjusting and adapting to the student's needs? I think students should do some adjusting too, for the real world isn't going to give them everything they want." The resource room teacher opposite her insists that the school needs to change its ways. "Not all children learn by conventional methods; they need a variety of experiences, games, materials, independent activities, and so on."

The young beginning teacher listens attentively, then poses the question, "What happens when you tell them that if they don't work, you will not get upset, and when they're ready to join in, you'll start again as if from square one. What happens if they never decide to do any work?"

I enter the classroom just before the bell, planning to catch up on my running notes. I am surprised to see Merle and her two student helpers from grade six tidying up the room. Merle gives the helpers some instructions on how to cut out circles for some activity, moves to the back of the room for something, and then adds, "And tomorrow we can start sorting through all this stuff. I want to get my Valentine stuff out." One of the student helpers brightens up visibly. "You mean we can start decorating your room?" She is the one who had told me one day, wistfully, "Miss Johnson has so much stuff but she doesn't like fixing up her room."

When Merle leaves the room, I notice Matt is at his desk, working on the reading workbook exercise. I walk by and Matt asks me to help him. I demur, saying, "I think your teacher wants you to do it all by yourself." He says, "You know, I tore up my page and the teacher gave me another one."

The helpers bring a box of tracers and work beside me at the back table. Soon Matt gets up and peers into the black Kanata Kit box on the table. "What's that?" he asks. I send him back to his desk. Some children open the door, see Matt, and protest angrily. "Matt, you're not s'pozed to be in there!" Matt marches to the door, and announces, "I gotta stay in. The teacher said. I have to finish this page." He returns to his desk and sits looking at his paper. It's the longest I've seen him sit for a long while.

The afternoon lessons begin with the usual preliminaries. Trish hunts for her running shoes. Alice shares a beautiful colored picture of her family, but she speaks in such a soft voice, I don't hear a word she says. Dick grunts. The room is noisy. Merle speaks quietly, reminding them to bring their family pictures for sharing, if they haven't already done so. Then she moves into math. After she has given the assignment, she adds that those who finish the exercise and have no unfinished work may join her on the carpet where she will show them how to play a new math game. For the remainder of the period before recess, I help various children--Sheila, Doug, Jennifer, and Carol--with the math exercise, then watch the group play the new math game. They seem reluctant to leave the game when the buzzer sounds for recess.

At recess, I visit the library and look at the facilities and resources. The librarian, who is watching, asks, "Are you checking our social studies materials and resources?" I decide to come back and take a bit more time to look around and see what they do have in social studies.

After recess, the social studies lesson begins. Merle calls them to the carpeted area, but they are not to bring chairs or pillows. The first few minutes are spent reviewing what they had done the day before. She asks them to recall what they learned about families. The answers are vague. Most of the children recite details about their own families instead. Merle points to the bulletin board. She asks them to call out the number of people in their family when their name is called. Merle asks, "How are families different?" She prints on the chalkboard: "different numbers," then she continues. "What else is different about families?" She has placed the pictures from the previous day in the pocket chart. Someone in the group mentions that some families have "darker skin." "Why is that?" Merle asks, and someone responds, "because they come from different places." Merle agrees. She continues the discussion.

"How many of you here have a baby in the family?"

The discussion takes on a new twist. Matt and David get into a heated argument with the girls about whether boys can have babies. Suddenly, Terri makes the startling observation that "Women over forty should not have babies. It is too dangerous."

Merle tries to get them to say something about grandparents, perhaps with reference to different ages of family members. She prints: 'different ages' on the chalkboard. The bell sounds and she tells them how disappointed she was in their music lesson behavior yesterday. She hopes they do better in music today. A few voices call out, "It's not music today!" She looks confused. I mouth "library" and she catches her mistake.

During the lining-up procedures, Merle asks Erika, one of the more mature students who works consistently, to be her "eyes and ears" during the trip to and from the library, and she appoints Betty and Judy, also better students, to lead the class to the library. When they get back, she will ask Erika to tell her who the "three stars" (quietest people) were during library.

I join the group during the library story time, and as the circle disperses, I watch how the children are encouraged to select and check out their own books independently. Dick wants to monopolize my attention. He would like to find another book just as we did last time, but I must tend to Sheila's tears first. She has tripped over her long, untied shoelaces. I tie them for her. Her sad, strangly "vacant" eyes watch me, but she says nothing. Sheila seldom says anything to anyone.

On the way back, I hold Dick's and Matt's hands. The group is very noisy in the hallway. A grade one teacher opens her door, looks out crossly, then shuts the door again with a bang. When we get back to the room, I am not surprised at Erika's three star selection. She has chosen herself, Betty, and Judy. The confusion in the room is unbelievable. It is three minutes before dismissal and some children are already dressed and leaving in the hallway. Others rush out angrily and tell them to come back and clean up the room. I find the lack of routine a little hard to endure. Charlie is one of those called back. Like the White Rabbit in Alice in Wonderland, he is forever afraid of being late.

"I'll miss the bus! I'll miss the bus!" he mutters under his breath as he throws a few papers into the wastebasket. The room is very untidy. The children leave.

Merle walks over to join me at the table. "I'm not very proud of that social studies lesson," she comments.

I don't know what to say. I murmur, "It's been a long day."

"I sure didn't get them to define the family, did I?" asks Merle. "I don't know whether to continue to try or not."

"Do whatever you think they are able to do," I hedge.

She looks over the classroom scene from the back of the room.

"I don't know," Merle confesses, "when I started teaching, I used to think that grade one was so important. I thought, 'If you don't start them off on the right track, their whole career is affected.' Now I don't know. It seems that the students who are disorganized when they start grade one continue to be disorganized throughout school, and those that are organized are like that the minute they step into the school. I guess school isn't the only factor affecting their attitudes."

I comment, "I was thinking of your remark the other day about how the 'quiet ones' like Terri and Erika and Judy seldom get noticed. When I left home this morning I had full intentions of following one or all three of them the whole day to see what it must be like for them. Instead, I got side-tracked again by the more active, noisy ones."

Merle muses about some of the children's chances in the future. "Of the three you mentioned, I think Erika is the most intelligent, but I doubt whether she'll get very far. She's just not as aggressive as Judy."

We walk to the staff room together. Merle sits down at the table with the Kanata Kit 1 teacher's guide. Oh, how I dread the thought of going out to catch the bus in the cold weather! I arrive home late, tired, and feeling very dispirited. I stay up all night typing notes.

Meeting Five Canadian Families

January 30, 1980

With a double period for social studies, I wonder how much will get accomplished today, as I hurry into the classroom this afternoon, just after recess. Merle is showing the children how to make the family booklets out of folded construction paper. They are to copy the title "Canadian Families" and "My name is ______" which Merle has printed on the side chalkboard. She removes the family portrait pictures from the bulletin board, commenting as she does so that some people still have some work to do on the pictures. The children come up to get their pictures as their names are called.

Matt walks over to Elmer's desk and asks him to draw a rocket ship for the cover of his family booklet. Elmer is a talented artist, much in demand by others in the room. Suddenly, Merle calls out, "Matt! what are you doing there?" Matt replies, "I've gone to get a yellow crayon for my printing." He continues to talk to Elmer.

When all the pictures have been returned, Merle tells them to place the pictures inside the folded booklet and to put the booklet in their desk. When the booklets are finished, they will be taken home.

Just as Merle moves to the light switch in an effort to attract their attention, Jennifer's desk falls over with a crash. Merle pauses, looks at Jennifer, then comes forward quickly and leads Jennifer, who is about to cry or scream or something, out into the hallway. Merle returns, turns on the lights, and tells the children to leave their booklets on their desks and to come to the carpet.

"Today we are going to be listening to some tapes we haven't heard before. We'll be on the carpet, but no chairs or pillows please." As she proceeds to call the children by rows, suddenly Charlie and Rosie start cleaning up. They drag the heavy metal wastebasket up and down the aisles, as they pick up scraps of paper under every desk. It makes a loud scraping noise. When I ask Charlie why they are cleaning up, Charlie replies, "It's for stars." As I join the children on the carpet, I wonder if Merle has given them a "pep talk" about their behavior earlier this day. They seem unusually subdued.

Although the instructions were "no chairs," Doug perches on top of a stack of chairs and grins defiantly when I ask him to get down. Merle inserts the tape, dons the hand puppet, and starts the tape. The big moment has arrived! The children are about to meet Mighty Moose. Nothing happens. Merle looks embarrassed. She checks the tape, the plug-in, and then asks me if perhaps there is an extra long lead-in on the tape.

"I didn't preview this," she says apologetically. "I did everything else at recess, except this. There must be something wrong with the machine itself." She decides to look for another tape recorder in the school. She rushes out of the room.

I sit on the chair on the carpet. With the puppet on my hand, I try to engage the children in conversation. I don't know whether to feel angry or amused at the way things are going. Merle walks in carrying another machine. She sets it up again. The noisy cleaning continues in the background. I wonder if they'll stop when the tape is playing, otherwise, it will be impossible to hear a word. As Jennifer moves off

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the carpet to join the cleaners, Merle snaps her fingers. Jennifer returns. The cleaning goes on.

The tape starts with a click, click, click! Oh, no, I can't believe this, I think to myself. Merle presses the player against her abdomen and the clicking stops. The sound is not too clear, however, and must compete with foreground and background noise. Doug is now playing with the pencil sharpener, Dick has climbed the stack of chairs, Trish starts braiding Terri's hair--something she likes to do during library too. As the Moose introduces each family, I try to focus the children's attention on the appropriate picture of each family group now tucked into the pocket chart. Finally,Merle stops the tape and orders the clean up crew on to the carpet. At the conclusion of the first tape, Merle begins a review of the names of the five families, each from a different ethno-cultural group.

She tries to get the children to recall the names of the different families. None can remember the Indian family's name, but someone recalls that the little girl's name was 'Pom-Pom.' Then she tries to get the children to recall where each family came from. "I've forgotten the names of the reservations," says Merle, looking at me. "It's Kehewin and Saddle Lake, but it's not that important," I reply. She calls the family, named Steinhauer in the kit, "a native Canadian family." "They're Cree," says Merle. Some of the children look significantly at David. "David's an Indian," someone whispers. But David, who is lying at Merle's feet, does not seem too interested.

Merle goes on to the French-Canadian family. "Matt should know this family's name," she says to the group. Matt looks startled. She goes on to say, "Perhaps you can help us pronounce. . . Morin." Matt is of no linguistic help at this point. Merle prompts, "Which two languages do you speak, Matt?"

"French," says Matt.

"And what else?" urges Merle.

The children prompt Matt. "English, Matt. You speak English, too."

Matt, who is sitting to my right, says, "I can say 'Comment ça va.' Comment ça va. Comment ça va.'"

"Perhaps Mrs. Odynak can help me pronounce the next family's name--Kalyna. Right?" Merle appeals to me. I nod. "They came to Canada from Ukraine." Merle looks at a child sitting near her in the circle.

Then she goes on to the Jamaican family. She asks, "Who can remember the name of the Jamaican family?"

Adam blurts out, "Africa!"

Merle is momentarily stumped, then she continues smoothly, "Perhaps, at one time, their ancestors did come from Africa, but this family came to Canada from Jamaica. Their name is Brown. Next day I will bring in a map and we will be able to find on a globe where the families came from."

She concludes with the Japanese family, but she calls them "Kato," pronouncing the long 'a'. Looking at me, she suddenly asks, "Am I pronouncing that right?"

"Kato," I whisper, using the short 'a', just as the father of the family had said it on the telephone one day when we had asked the families to supply a suitable pseudonym for the real names.

"They're Chinese," someone in the group states, and Merle moves in with, "You're very close. Their country is close to China. It is Japan."

The names of the countries seem nothing more than abstractions to these children.

Merle brings some duplicated sheets from her desk. They are the student masters with the letters to parents about ethnic and cultural origins. Before distributing them, however, Merle questions the children about their own cultural backgrounds. She asks specific children.

"Germany," says Erika, emphatically. Another, Kitty, answers, "Winnipeg. That's where I came from." When she is questioned further by Merle, Kitty says, "My parents were born there too." The discussion continues with other children who seem to interpret the question, 'Where did you or your parents come from?' to mean place of residence, not country of origin.

Merle directs their attention to the letter, indicating that the first page is addressed to the parents, and the second page is a form that the parents fill in and the children bring back to school. Pointing to the top part, she says, "If your family is native, you fill in this part. If they came to Canada from somewhere else, then you fill in the bottom part. Bring this second page back to school when it's completed."

By this time the children are extremely restless. A number of them are walking about the room. She asks one of the children to repeat the instructions. With some prompting, the instructions are repeated. Then, she asks each child to come up and get the letter, now stapled together, and to start getting ready for home. She stands by the door, and after handing out the letters, Merle gives some children yellow laminated bus passes. After the children leave, we discuss the lesson.

"First of all," laughs Merle, nervously, "I discovered how unnerving it can be to have someone watch as the equipment acts up!" She then adds, "However, in spite of the unexpected delays and distractions, I think the tape has way too much information on it. Ten minutes, that's the absolute maximum you can hold them."

I explain why for production reasons, the first tape is actually a condensation of two original tapes, and then I add lamely, "The rest of the tapes aren't as long."

"I thought I had it down pat, but somehow I seem to have mixed up the three lessons," Merle confesses, laughing. "Perhaps, if I taught from my desk and could keep the guide open. . . but I don't." After a wan smile from me, she continues, "Maybe the content level is a bit too high for them, too. This is a slow class, you know, not too up on things."

"Except in obstetrical matters," I say jokingly, recalling Terri's sage comment. "Actually, they're not expected to absorb and recall all the details in one sitting. This is meant to be an introduction only. Later, they will hear the names and places repeated in different contexts, as they try to get answers to the different questions that the Moose raises in the tape."

"Speaking of questions," she says, reflecting for a moment, "you know, these particular children are just not capable of thinking up such questions themselves. If I were to ask them, 'What would you like to find out about these families?' they wouldn't think of any questions as general as those on the tape. Now when I had another grade one class and I was teaching them a unit on reptiles, when I asked them what they would like to find out about reptiles, they just took off, like that!" Merle snaps her fingers in emphasis. "But with this class, even the word 'families' is too abstract for them."

"That's why the Moose and Squirrel raise the research questions, sort of planting them ahead of time," I comment.

"That's a good idea," Merle says, "But they won't be able to remember them all. I think this is a point where a teacher makes a decision to adapt. I think I'll adapt that part, maybe use the bulletin board for the questions, or something."

From her comments, I wonder if she has read past the lessons she has taught so far, for the kit anticipates such a need and suggests a classroom chart as a permanent record of the research questions throughout the unit of study. Merle seems lost in thought, then she adds, "If I were to do this again, say next year, I'd use fewer families, and I'd definitely use cultural examples based on those found in the class."

When we enter the staff room, I feel I've walked into the middle of a family argument. Some teachers are sitting on the lounges, talking with the vice-principal, who announces at one point, in a firm voice, "Well, it's time to lay down the law. . ." "Things have to change around here," someone agrees. "There are always people coming and going, constant disruption. . ." I overhear "discipline" used several times and conclude that is the topic of concern.

The secretary walks into the staff room and lights up a cigarette. "Did you get your letter?" she asks me. "I put it in Merle's box."

"Oh, I forgot to give it to you. It's still there, I guess," says Merle, joining the group. The secretary brings me the letter, marked 'Urgent' that had come from the Project. As I share its contents with Merle, and, given my present mood of discouragement, I say cynically, "I really don't know at this stage if I want to be acknowledged for the work I did with the Project."

"Yeah, I know how you feel," Merle empathizes. "That's how I felt after I had worked for a testing project for the school system." She adds, "I was so disillusioned about the way things turned out. I understand how you feel."

Merle and Agnes, another grade one teacher, are attending an in-service meeting at another school. They offer me a ride to a bus stop nearer my home. During the short trip, Merle and Agnes continue the staff room discussion on discipline. Agnes comments, "Actually, it's just a few who make it difficult for the rest." She adds, "Today I feel quite relaxed. We had music so I had some free time to prepare."

"I wish I could say the same," Merle responds. "On days we have music, I just get so tense! It's a break for me, but I can hardly relax for they seem to act up for the music teacher!"

The two also discuss classroom helpers. "You seem to have two good ones," Agnes remarks to Merle. "I certainly appreciate mine. It frees me to do other important things."

Merle agrees, "But it's also a matter of keeping one jump ahead of them all the time. It can get to be exhausting."

At this point in the study, my feelings are mixed. I am both angry and disappointed that Merle is "not following the procedures and giving the kit a fair trial," which is the 'fidelity' approach. At the same time I feel disappointed in myself for not having anticipated some of the problems. Never had I imagined a classroom quite like Merle's. I am becoming apprehensive about how the suggested group work will turn out, if used, since the children have no previous independent group work experience. Merle's approach seems to be teacher-directed small group work while the rest pursue individual interests. Given the circumstances in this particular classroom, if I were the teacher in this case, I would consider adapting the group work procedures. I will have to wait to see what Merle will do.

Giving Merle a "Helping Hand"

February 1, 1980

Since there was no social studies on Thursday, the day had been spent catching up on my field notes and just resting. On Friday morning, I catch a taxi to the school in an effort to try an alternative approach to my transportation problems. My advice to novice field researchers is: "If you don't drive, don't do this type of study."

While Merle and Group 1 do a language arts rhyming exercise on the carpet, I watch the independent activities pursued by members of Group 2. Because of "split entry," some of the children arrive and leave at different times. Today I notice a new face. Faye, a little girl who has been home ill, has returned and is now sitting at her desk staring at the pages marked "Do" in her workbook. I offer her some help. When she gets started, I move closer to the reading circle, picking up a copy of the reader along the way. Matt, I notice, has gone directly to the cubbyhole activities. His work is seldom finished, but he doesn't worry about it. "School is play, work only if forced to do so when the teacher notices."

Group 1 complete their directed reading and are instructed to take their readers to their desks where they do some more silent reading. As I pass Dick's desk, he announces, "Today is my birthday and I'm seven years old!" I give him seven "birthday hugs" and "one to grow on."

"Yes," Dick says, "each day I get older and older and stronger and stronger."

How ill is this child, I wonder, as my eyes fill with tears. Merle is on the carpet, demonstrating a new language arts game activity to members of Group 2 and to those who have finished their reading in Group 1. I sense a feeling of uneasiness in the room and wonder if something had happened while I was away the day before.

When it is time to prepare for gym, Merle lines them up and goes over the rules for walking down the hallway. Nothing is said about wearing shoes or tying shoelaces. Faye, for example, is wearing her leather shoes, and several of the children let their untied shoelaces drag behind them. In one of her asides to me one recess, Merle confessed that she couldn't see the point of enforcing the school rule about wearing shoes inside at all times (because of fire drill). "It just becomes a matter of putting them on and taking them off," she had said. When the line has formed, I decide to linger for a few minutes in the classroom and make my appearance later in the gym to avoid the disputes over who is going to be my "partner" during the trip.

I enter the gym a few minutes later. The children are playing a game of "Red Light, Green Light, Yellow Light"--an alternating series of running, "freezing" on the spot, and running on a spot. The four corners of the gym are held up by the usual miscreants: David, Dick, Charlie, and Jennifer. After the warming up activities, Merle uses the "partners" approach to demonstrate and practise shooting the puck across the gym. I detect some evidence that, after the recent visit to the school and a demonstration lesson by the system's physical education consultant, Merle has modified her teaching procedures during the gym lesson. She is now being more structured and is proceeding in shorter steps than before. The children are completely absorbed in the activity and seem reluctant to give up the equipment when it is time to return to the classroom. More time is spent on "hallway rules" before they leave the gym. As Merle leads the group out of the gym, I end up refereeing a fight between David and Doug over who gets to turn off the lights. They both become my walking partners on the way back as I grip their hands firmly.

In the hallway, near the water fountain and washrooms, Merle halts the group for a washroom break. When David, Doug, and I arrive at the water fountain, Doug insists on gulping down vast amounts of water. I can see why he wants to go to the washroom right after recess if he does this all the time. I wait outside the boys' washroom for my partners to reappear.

Suddenly, Charlie dashes out, runs to the water fountain, and soon after, David appears, followed in hot pursuit by an older student who accuses him of "climbing the walls." "It wasn't me," David protests, "it was Charlie who was doin' it!" Mr. Sloan, the caretaker, is soon on the scene.

-"What's the matter? Are some of the boys sneaking into the washroom?" He enters and checks.

In the room, Merle is handing out stars. The lights are off. The place looks so gloomy, like a cave. Suddenly, a disembodied voice comes over the intercom and asks the teachers to give the number needed for snacks. Katherine, the new student, is startled. She looks about the room, searching for the source of the voice. I explain to her about the intercom, as Merle, nonchalantly, talks back to the box in one corner of the classroom. "There are 19 students and 2 adults today." Before the snacks arrive, Merle announces changes to the "books envelope." She is referring to a list of books read by students and verified by parent signature which has become another source of subtle competition in the room. "When the number reaches 20, something will happen. I'm not sure what," says Merle, "but it will be a prize of some sort or a recognition. After all," she adds, "the old way wasn't fair, since two people haven't received their envelopes yet."

The snack arrives, carried in by a middle-aged woman who looks like a parent volunteer. Meanwhile, Merle has distributed something to do while they wait--an alphabet search. The children drink the juice and eat the raisins as they complete the exercise. Then, the printing exercise begins. Merle prints on the side chalkboard: "Today I ate raisins and apricot with orange juice." The children copy the statement into their nutrition booklets. Just then the buzzer sounds for recess.

At recess, I stay in the classroom to work on my field notes. Merle directs her classroom helpers to hang up the "Family Tree" cut-out suggested in the Kanata Kit 1 teacher's guide. Each leaf will have a new word printed on it as the unit progresses and new leaves will be added as needed. Since Merle is on supervision, I offer to assist the two grade six girls who are still uncertain about what they are to do. Faye remains in the classroom as well, working to "catch up" on her workbook exercises. She appeals to me for help and I notice that she has many problems with the reading vocabulary and has difficulty concentrating.

After recess, the children are told to finish up the printing in the nutrition booklets. I decide to walk around and observe individual students. "Did you finish your booklet, Roddy?" Merle asks. When Roddy answers affirmatively, I ask him to show me his work since I had noticed that he had been too busy playing with the styrofoam cups before recess to have done the printing.

"I can't find it," Roddy says, so Merle sanctions a class-wide search for his booklet. Then, reluctantly, Roddy pulls the booklet out of his desk and I notice that he has done the sketch but no printing. I insist that he complete the task. Roddy sighs and reaches for his pencil.

"It's calendar time," Merle announces and Matt proceeds to find the correct disk with much prompting from Merle. Dick seats himself on the "sharing" stool, and as birthday boy, he sits in the place of honor and beams as the class sings the "Birthday Song."

Merle works with Group 2 in a language arts activity on the carpet, while Group 1 has independent activities. However, I notice that the lesson on the carpet is repeatedly interrupted by bouts of misbehavior, usually by David or Matt. First, David is ordered to take a chair slightly away from the group, then Matt is sent to a chair behind the file cabinet in the corner. As the lesson proceeds, Matt worms his way toward the hallway, sliding his chair along the floor, inch by inch. Katherine runs up to protest Matt's behavior to the teacher who tells her to "ignore Matt." During the rest of the lesson, I avoid the group which is slowly starting to disintegrate as more and more people are inattentive or misbehave. I marvel at Merle's endurance and patience.

As the children file out for lunch, Merle approaches me. She looks very tired. "And I thought the morning was going so well until this last period!" She then tells me that after yesterday's episode with Dick's eyeglasses she had arranged to have the counsellor speak with Dick. When I mention Roddy's evasive behavior, she says somewhat crossly, "Maybe it's my values or something, but I really don't care if they finish the printing or not." She explains that the booklets were a cooperative project with other grade one teachers. One of them designed the booklet, and Merle observes, "The lines don't have enough spaces to print all the words. Besides," she adds, "I really don't see much point in forcing them to print words they don't understand."

The staff room seems quiet and subdued as people converse in low voices. They have the TGIF look about them. Merle joins her usual group at the end of the table. They discuss Merle's problems with some of the children who continue to disrupt the class. Merle informs me, when I join them, "I had a talk with the principal about Dick." Merle and the kindergarten teacher focus on Sherman's behavior which, from my observations, seems no better or worse than the rest. Someone in the group marvels at how Merle kept her temper during recess supervision when she had an encounter with a student in another grade one class. At one point, I mention to Merle that I had overheard a conversation between David and Jennifer as they returned to the classroom after recess. After sending Jennifer to her desk, I asked David what she had whispered in his ear. David had laughed, "Ah, she wants me to bring her a lipstick."

Merle puts her head down on the table. "Oh no! Now I have to look out for that!"

The others, seeing my puzzled expression, explain, "Shop lifting. David's done it before. That's how he gets lipsticks for the girls."

Merle raises her head and sighs. "I think I'm going to try Glasser's classroom meetings next week instead of the sharing time. We have so many problems in that class."

We walk back to the classroom after the first bell. After surveying the room, Merle decides to rearrange the seating. "I have to separate

Sherman and Elmer," she says over her shoulder as she slides desks around. "Yesterday, when I scolded Sherman for misbehaving and asked him why he was doing it, he replied, 'Because it makes Elmer laugh'. Yet, I have to keep certain people close to me at the front."

"Have you considered having the desks face the side chalkboard?" I ask her.

Merle replies, "When they used to have tables at the beginning of the year, they faced that way but that didn't seem to solve the problem." As she continues to shift desks, I wonder what new alliances will emerge as a result of the new seating arrangement.

"It's almost like deciding the seating in the UN General Assembly," I say jokingly.

After lunch, Jennifer, noticing her desk has been moved, puts it back where it was. I tell Jennifer that the teacher has changed the seating order. She ignores me. Merle enters the room, sees the change, and moves Jennifer, desk and all, to the new location. Jennifer says nothing. Merle gives out stars, and then the "sharing time" begins. Faye, Dick, and Roddy have brought pictures of their families which they talk about to the class. Merle follows this activity with a story. I am so absorbed in my notes I fail to note the title of the book.

After the story, Merle introduces the modified calendar activity since it is the beginning of a new month. They have a calendar booklet which she now distributes, commenting that the January page has not been completed by some of the children. They are to do the page for February first, then go back and finish what is left to do of the numbers and printing for January. As a model, they are directed to use the laminated calendar at the front of the room. Before starting the activity, she leads a brief discussion about the kind of picture which could go in the space below the name of the month. She walks over and picks up the truck calendar brought by Sherman and another calendar that has pictures of Freddie the Firefighter on each page. She asks the children to think of some holidays that are celebrated in February. A few say, "It's my birthday." Merle ends up telling them that Valentine's Day comes in February and they might consider drawing hearts. The whole exercise lacks spirit somehow.

Katherine, the new student, looks bewildered when she gets a copy of the calendar booklet. I show her what has to be done. She is able to complete the task by herself, so I give my full attention to Matt who has been sitting in his desk and muttering, "Teacher, what do I have to do?" as he stares at the calendar booklet. His first page, as expected, is blank. I kneel beside his desk. Together, we proceed through the February page, including the letters and numbers, several of which he prints in reverse. As the error occurs, I joke with him, "The backwards demon (a cartoon character on a chart in the room) is playing a trick on you here." Matt takes it in good humor, erasing and correcting without any argument. At one point, he keeps repeating the same reversal, but I insist that he get it right by providing him with a large model on a separate piece of paper and then holding his hand as he traces over the letter with his finger. The rest of the work is completed without further "testing" of my reactions.

When Matt is ready to draw the picture, I remind him about what the teacher had said about Valentines. "How do you spell 'love'?" asks Matt. I show him the word that had been hung on the classroom door. He walks over, copies the word carefully on his calendar drawing, and then asks me to help him do the January page. I can't believe my ears. This is the longest attention span I've seen Matt have since I started observing the classroom!

Using the calendar taken from the wall, I show Matt the word "January" and he methodically prints it on the page. After I show him where to start the numbering for the days of the month, Matt returns to his desk and finishes the page. Amazing! I walk around helping the other children get oriented. Suddenly Matt approaches me. "Here!" he says, thrusting a paper heart cut from construction paper into my hand. He returns to his desk. "Where did you find it, Matt?" I ask. "I made it," he replies, "I made it just for you." On the heart he had printed, "I love you."

At recess, Merle pauses only long enough to answer some questions from her helpers about the family tree on the bulletin board, then she starts pinning up the family pictures from the kit. She looks at the clock. "I have to go on supervision," she says. I offer to complete the job. She scoops up the Kanata Kit 1 teacher's guide and rushes out of the room.

After recess, the social studies lesson begins. Two girls are asked to bring the plasticine bucket and Merle allows each child to choose one ball of plasticine. She explains to the children that they are to remain seated in their desks, playing with the plasticine quietly, as they listen to what she has to say.

Merle reviews the names of the families from last day. None of the children are able to recall the names, even when prompted by Merle, who then draws their attention to the family group pictures on the bulletin board. The family name is beneath each picture. She asks the children to repeat the names after she says them. The plasticine pounding begins. Some children are more absorbed in the play activity than in the work activity.

Merle questions the children about where the families came from. Again they fail to recall the place of origin mentioned in the tape. Roddy thinks the Jamaican family came from Africa. Merle replies, "Perhaps they did, their families came across the ocean in big ships many years ago." She points to a large classroom globe she has brought into the classroom. She calls it a "map of the world." As she holds it in her lap, she points to the blue bodies of water and the brown parts that are land, saying, as she points, "This is North America, and this part is Canada, and this is Alberta here." Few of the children look up from their plasticine.

Merle places a small ball of plasticine on the globe to mark the spot she calls "Edmonton." Then she proceeds to locate and name each of the places of origin of the five families. She seeks my help in locating Jamaica, and later, Ukraine. As the children go on playing with the plasticine and listening, Merle continues the geography lesson by including the places of origin of some of the children's families in the class. A few of the family data sheets sent out in an earlier activity have been returned to school. She asks me to help her find the Philippines where Betty's parents came from. When she finds Greece as the country where Charlie's father came from, Roddy jokes and rubs his chest, saying, "Grease, grease!" Merle tells the children not to handle the globe with its small balls of plasticine locating the places of origin. She leaves the globe on the shelf near the windows.

For the remainder of the social studies period, Merle hands out the family booklet covers started last day and distributes another copy of the family portraits page. "This time, I want you to draw the people in your family that you like to visit, not those who live with you." She suggests that they finish the family portraits from last day, as well. When she realizes that the plasticine activity is still going on, she asks a child to go around with the bucket. The children drop the plasticine in reluctantly. They work on the family portraits with little enthusiasm, except for a few like Rosie who must have a large kinship network. She keeps asking me how to spell words such as 'aunt,' 'uncle, 'grandmother,' 'grandfather,' 'cousin,' 'niece,' and 'nephew.' I print these on the board and when asked by others, I point to the word. Merle has disappeared from the room during this exercise.

While the geography lesson was in progress, I had knelt beside Matt's desk, hoping to focus his attention on the social studies activity. But Matt was too busy making a car outline out of plasticine. His main concern, expressed in a loud voice, was, "I need more plasticine." Whenever the discussion focused on the French family, this failed to arouse his interest. So absorbed was he in his plasticine play that he had no idea what to do with the second portrait page he had just received. After repeating the instructions, I noticed that Matt drew his grandparents. The facial features on one of the portraits bore a striking resemblance to Matt's in that both he and his grandmother have beautiful, thick curling eyelashes, a prominent and striking feature in Matt's facial appearance.

At 3:20 P.M. Merle reappears in the room. She asks the children to count up their stars for the week. The stars have been pasted to a sheet of colored construction paper stored in their desks or taped to the side. As they count, they call out their totals. Matt, after counting his stars, turns to me, and says, "I only have six." Then, as Merle begins asking each child for the total, Matt grins. "I'll fool her and say I have sixteen." I tell him to be honest. "Then I'll say nine," he compromises, but I shake my head. He calls out, "Six," when he hears his name. A child in the next row laughs derisively, "Six! Only six!" and Matt jumps out of his seat, ready to retaliate, but I restrain him. Merle then distributes the "Helping Hands" silhouettes she has removed from the bulletin board near the office. She comments, "Last week those people with most stars got a Helping Hand with their name on it for others to see. Now they can take them home. Those with the most stars this week will get Helping Hands that will go on the bulletin board in the hall." Some children beam; others look indifferent.

Suddenly, Mr. Sloan appears in the doorway. It is late and the buses will be leaving soon. Merle has run over-time. There is a frantic rushing about as the "bus people" grab lunch kits, don coats and boots, and run. Faye, on the other hand, dawdles until I help her dress. Then she saunters off down the hallway. She doesn't seem too worried about missing her bus. Suddenly, Matt rushes into the room. "I've left my lunch kit!" he cries out. Merle shoos him out the door with an urgent "We'll find it tomorrow. Hurry!" Matt goes out, then returns again. Merle grabs his hand and runs with him down the hallway.

Later, in the staff room, Merle tells me that Matt had boarded the bus in tears, crying that he'd get "a beating at home for forgetting his lunch kit." So, to prevent problems, she had phoned his home and had informed his mother about the missing lunch kit. Merle thanks me for "babysitting Matt" during the lesson. I tell her about the calendar activity and the unexpected gift of a heart. "That's probably what he needs, more attention and cuddling rather than being sent out into the hall when he misbehaves," Merle responds.

I show Merle the tape recorder I'd brought from home, "in case the machine does not work again." I also ask her if I may do some tape recording of lessons. She looks startled and slightly uncomfortable. I offer to show her the transcripts when they are typed up. "I'm not so sure I want to see them," she says.

Falling Stars

February 4, 1980

I have decided to cut back on my observations by limiting them to afternoons or social studies periods only. My field notes are voluminous as I explore all kinds of alternatives and follow up interesting leads. Today I arrive at 1:00 P.M. and enter the classroom after the last buzzer sounds a few minutes after one o'clock. Merle is not in the room as I make my way to the back. Katherine runs up and greets me with a "It's my birthday today and I'm seven." I hug her and continue on my way. As I pass Dick's desk he makes mewing, kitten sounds. I ignore him.

Merle walks in, turns off the lights, and then goes to the cloakroom. When she emerges, frowning, I ask, "Did you solve the case of Matt's missing lunch kit?"

"Yeah," she mutters, moving to the front of the room, "but now Jennifer can't find hers!" She asks two girls to bring all the clothes to her from the cloakroom floor while the bus people bring in their lunch kits to see if they've taken Jennifer's by mistake. Merle looks angry and exhausted as she holds the pile of clothes. The lunch kit is not there.

"At the beginning of this week, each of you got fourteen stars. This morning at our class meeting we talked about rules of behavior in class. Some of you seem to have forgotten what they are. Let's go over them again:

- Remember to hang up your clothes. Today is only a warning. You won't lose any stars for this (she gestures with the clothes), but from now on be careful or you will lose stars.
- Remember to take turns.
- Remember to raise your hand when answering a question.
- Remember to be considerate of others.
- Remember to put your shoes on when you are in the classroom."

With the lights switched on again, Merle tells the children to return their lunch kits to the cloakroom and to hang up their clothes. Jennifer is sent to the "lost and found" to continue her search for the missing lunch kit. Suddenly, Merle walks over to a chart on the wall near the door. "David, you have just lost a star." She marks the chart. David squirms and rests his head on the desk. The class looks subdued.

During story time, Merle reads two poems and in the discussion after, the children are asked to describe what they imagined in their heads. "What picture did you get?" asks Merle of several students. Jennifer comes sobbing into the room and is led out again by Merle who says calmly, "Your crying is disturbing the class. Stay in the hallway until you are ready to join us."

The lights go off and Dick loses a star. The discussion continues about images in the head and about feelings of being alone and lost. The children relate personal experiences of being "lost" and how it felt.

"It is time to stop talking now," Merle announces. In a quiet, even voice, she explains that in their phonics book today they will be doing something like a test. "So you are to fold your pages back so that you cannot see what you did before." During the instructions, some of the children chat quietly, while others begin searching for pencils. As soon as they leave their desks to get their phonics books, the noise level starts to rise. Dick and Charlie lie on the floor as Merle speaks to the class. They shoot an eraser in the direction of David's desk. David watches but does not join in. I direct the boys to get their phonics books. As the children drift back to their desks, they ask me for help. Dick remains in his desk and plays with some blue laminated cards. He spills them on the floor and then shifts them about with his feet. Someone is missing a pencil, so the pencil search begins. Merle walks to the chart and marks something. David rushes over to the cards near Dick's desk and starts picking them up hastily. Dick is now engaged in pushing the nearby carrel. After awhile he gets up, sighs, and gets his phonics book from the back.

Merle begins the instructions for the phonics exercise. She speaks slowly and clearly. Matt raises his hand. His bathroom request is denied. The instructions continue. Charlie wants to go to the bathroom. "Later," says Merle, continuing with the exercise. She reminds Matt not to look back in his book for the answer. I get up and walk around. Several of the children do not have their books folded back as instructed and are looking back or turning around and copying from their neighbors. Charlie's book is scribbled all over. He rushes ahead, circling words madly with no regard to their meaning. He turns and looks at Dick's work, then grabs his eraser and scrubs furiously. Merle does not check how they are doing. She remains at the front. With the exception of Jennifer and Judy, most of the children are having some difficulty with the words.

The exercise continues in the same fashion on the next page. Then, in the same modulated tone, she tells Row 1, and then, Row 2, "Get a lump of plasticine to play with while I mark your work." As she bends over and begins marking, she adds, almost as an afterthought, as most of the children rush to get the plasticine, "If you have any pages not done in your booklets, finish them before you get some plasticine." However, the children are off and running. Her instructions are not heard.

As she marks the work, she helps different children by explaining, here and there, what was wrong with their answers.

I can see that David, who has been relatively well behaved this afternoon, is ready to explode. I move toward him. He has closed his booklet and is half-turned in his desk, ready to take off. I kneel beside him, and ask if he'd like some help. No answer, his back is turned, his body rigid. I turn him around and repeat my offer.

"I don't got no pencil. My pencil broke, that's why I didn't finish," David says angrily. When I suggest we sharpen it together, he says, "I gotta ask the teacher first." He makes no move to ask for permission, however, so I take him with me to the sharpener, explaining that I have Merle's permission to do this. When we return to his desk with the sharpened pencil, David sets to work immediately. He completes the exercise, but has much difficulty with middle vowel sounds. At no time does he balk or try to give up as I help him. We finish the two pages in this manner. As I flip through the rest of the pages from previous exercises, most have not been completed and only a few have been marked.

Carol signals to me for help. Since her pages have been checked and the errors noted, we concentrate on some of her problems--disorganization mainly, it appears. Her eraser is lost as usual, so we have to "borrow" one. This practice of constant borrowing may account for the loss of pencils, erasers, glue, and scissors.

At recess, I comment on some of the interesting activities stored in the closed cupboards and Merle replies that she "may get around to some of them by the end of the year." When her helpers arrive, she sets them to work marking the remaining phonics books from cover to cover, including what she calls "corrections" done by the students. Merle leaves the classroom. I stay behind and experiment with my tape recorder. The sound on the play-back is very poor on the condenser microphone.

Suddenly, there is a loud, and prolonged screaming in the hallway. It must be Jennifer, I think, as I rush out. Someone has pushed her down on the playground and she has a slight scrape on her hand. Meanwhile, her lunch kit has materialized from somewhere. Perhaps she had forgotten it in the lunch room and someone, in cleaning up, had discovered it. I return to the room and continue my field notes.

Merle enters the classroom after recess and tells the children to get ready for music. Jennifer's scrape is dismissed as an old injury not worth tending to, and Jennifer sits down quietly. Merle talks to the music teacher who is waiting in the doorway. Merle calls Dick over to the doorway. After a brief discussion, she tells Dick to remain in his desk while the rest of the class go to music. Apparently, Dick is not ready to agree to a "contract" with the music teacher that he will behave in class.

When the children leave, I go to the staff room. Merle, sitting at the table, warns me not to interact with Dick while he is in his desk. I seek clarification from Merle about the change in her "star routine." She explains that although they had a classroom meeting this morning, it didn't seem to make a difference.

"I think I'll use a 'warm fuzzy' story tomorrow," Merle continues. "But I have some serious reservations about the 'warm fuzzies' and the 'cold pricklies' idea. The principal wants us to use the Glasser approach. And I don't know about that approach either. Sometimes it works, sometimes it doesn't. The idea for the 'warm fuzzies' and the 'cold pricklies' comes from T.A. for Tots, a book recommended for use in grade one," she explains. "The music teacher is trying to use the Glasser technique with Dick, but as you saw, he is not willing to make a commitment," Merle continues.

As she speaks, Merle is making a list of names. "This way," she explains, "there isn't as much time wasted. At the end of the week, I'll count up the number of stars they have left and just give them real stars." On her list, she had drawn in pen a row of stars opposite each name. Some had been crossed out. After she returns from checking on Dick, the conversation changes to social studies.

"I wonder where the material is for Topic B. It seems to me that Topic C is too advanced for grade one and Topic A is too simple and is covered in kindergarten, so Topic B would be what most grade one teachers would want most," Merle comments.

I explain that Topic B has several commercially-available materials that can be used. They have been listed in the prescribed resources list that was recently prepared by Alberta Education. Not only has Merle not seen the list, but she is not familiar with the resources I describe to her.

"I might have used some of the pictures," she says. "I know I ordered stuff from the IMC once, when they still did that. I hope those materials aren't right here in our library and I haven't even noticed them. That would be embarrassing." She adds, "Some of the teachers really liked the Senesh materials, I know that." The discussion turns to stereotyping and matters like that in social studies materials. Since she is more familiar with reading series, she gives examples of how recent publications have been vastly improved. When she leaves to have a "talk" with Dick, I read some material on the Glasser approach that I have found in one of the cupboards in the staff room. I get so absorbed that I fail to hear the children return from music or note how the time has passed.

At 3:05 P.M. I enter the classroom. The children, seated on their pillows, are listening as Merle reviews the countries of origin of the families by locating them on a globe. She whispers to me, as I join the group, "I'm using another globe now, one with the countries marked. I didn't realize how much basic stuff I had forgotten."

The review is not too successful; the majority cannot recall the names. David, I notice, is already at his desk with his head down. I can see that Merle has decided against using the colored yarn to trace the distances traveled by the different families to get to Canada from their original place of origin. After repeating the family names again, Merle tells the children she has papers for them to do that have these names on them. "This will help you remember the names and places we have been talking about," she says as she distributes copies of Student Master No. 2 from the kit. I find the labels showing the name of the country of origin for each family. They will go beneath the pictures on the bulletin board.

Merle explains how they are supposed to complete the matching exercise. She says, "The names of the five families are in the middle of the page. Around the page are circles. Inside the circles are faces of the different family members in each family. The first family is named Morin. Does anybody remember where they came from?" When there is no response, Merle moves to the bulletin board and points to the family picture. "Their name is printed here. The country they came from is France, and then they lived in Quebec before coming to Alberta." Then she pins the country of origin label beneath the family picture.

She continues the exercise. "Now find the word 'France' and then 'Quebec' beneath it on your paper. Draw a line from the name of the family to the circle which shows the Morin family." She proceeds to the next name listed--Brown--which two people recognize, and she repeats the procedure as before. From the back, I can see that several children have turned around and are looking at the paper behind them. Others are scribbling along the margin. I get up and walk around the room, helping different children locate the part of the exercise they should be on if they had been following Merle's instructions. In my observation I can see that some are circling the names and not matching the name and family group. a few have rushed ahead and are criss-crossing the page with lines at random, disregarding what she is saying. At least three people are busy drawing their own family faces in the circle at the top of the page and have not started the exercise. At the front of the room, Merle continues with the instructions, concluding with the suggestion, "You may wish to draw your own family faces in the empty circle at the top of the page."

I return to my seat at the back. I can't believe a lesson can be sabotaged so easily. Why doesn't she check to see that they are following the instructions? What value is this exercise if it is done so carelessly?

At 3:20 P.M., Merle asks Terri to pick up the sheets. Amidst the growing noise and confusion, Merle announces, "I have four letters for you to take home today." Four people are selected to distribute the different pages. There are children moving all over the classroom. At one point, Merle asks them to stay in their desks so that the people distributing the papers can see them. Some of the children rush to the cloakrooms and start dressing. Charlie mutters "I'll miss the bus, I'll miss the bus," as he sits in his desk, lunch kit in hand and ready to take off. I reassure him that it is still a few minutes before dismissal. Merle proceeds to comment about each of the letters. One is about Valentine cards and contains the message: "Either send cards for all or for none."

"Hurry up bus people," Merle says at last. "Put on your coats and boots and go." Some rush out the door; others dawdle. When the last of the children have left, except for Carol, who is sent off by Merle, Merle comes to my table.

"Well, that wasn't half bad at all," she comments. "They're still not too sure of the names yet, but they're getting there." Carol runs back into the room, and says, "I know her name--Pom-Pom" as she points to the little girl in the Indian family. She is sent home again.

Merle and I talk about the different families. I find myself telling her little anecdotes about the families and the development process. I think I'm trying to personalize the families, make them into real people. I even resort to a bit of "gallows humor" as I relate how discouraged I felt at one point during the development stage when I was seeking some way of implementing the "social action" portion of the inquiry model used in the kit. I had found a picture of the father of one of the families in the picture file. He was carrying a hugh platter of bloody, raw meat that looked suspiciously like moose meat. I had said, laughingly, that a good way to conclude the unit with some action would be to have the families invite Mighty Moose to a backyard barbecue. "End of Moose, end of unit," I say to Merle. She has a good laugh.

But I'm wondering why I am carrying on in this fashion. I am very upset by the way things are going. The kit is not being implemented the way I had expected. Its future looks grim. Each activity seems to go on and on. At this rate, it will take forever to complete the unit. What will happen to my study? What is happening to "my" kit? Will it survive this classroom? Will I survive this study?

Obviously she and I are seeing the same event from different perspectives. Our standards differ. Our personal and social philosophies differ. My emotions are so mixed! On the one hand, I empathize with Merle--it is a difficult class. They are different. On the other hand, I think she is underestimating their abilities in some ways. I still cling to the "fidelity" perspective, matching the experienced curriculum to the intended curriculum.

"I Never Promised You a Rose Garden"

In this section, the chronological log of experiences contains synopses based on my full field notes which continued to expand as I searched for emerging themes and possible hypotheses. Interviews were held with Merle, the principal, the secretary, the custodian, and other staff members. My notes included extra-classroom observations and information on staff room conversations, special meetings, and documentary materials. Before continuing with the chronological sequence of events, however, I would like to relate two examples of my hypothesizing as the study progressed. These included the "pillow hypothesis" and the "labeling hypothesis," both of which were disconfirmed and discarded as irrelevant to the purposes of this study.

One of my theses was that Merle was underestimating the abilities of the children. The pillows came to symbolize her "romantic" view of children whose natural inclination to play should be tolerated and indulged. Yet, in the course of the study, some of the children's responses to the more structured approach in the kit occasionally astonished Merle and myself. I began to think (hope?) that Merle was starting to place a higher priority on the materials than she had initially.

One day the pillows disappeared. Aha! Things are changing around here. My hypothesis has been partially confirmed, I thought. Then I asked Betty, "What happened to the pillows?" And Betty replied, "She made us take them home. The mice were getting into them."

My second related thesis was that Merle's low expectations for the class resulted from her labeling of the children as possibly "hyperactive" or "learning disabled." The eclectic mixture of behavior modification and of humanistic Glasser theories was not proving very effective in modifying some of the negative classroom behavior. Surely she would rationalize such failure by labeling the children, not her methods or the classroom environment.

In the staff room one day, I found a bulletin which referred to special in-service workshops for "dealing with children with learning disabilities." In response to my question about whether she were interested in the topic, Merle informed me that the only time she had had to cope with a "hyperactive" child had been when one of her former students in grade one had been taken off Ritalin medication by his parents without informing her. "Now, that was a hyperactive child!" she said. From her comments, I concluded that, in her estimation, none of her present class fell into that category.

February 5, 1980

Time and travel. Using Activity 3 as a base, Merle introduces the concept of historical time, relating it to the approximate time of arrival of the families' ancestors who either lived in Canada or immigrated to Canada. She uses the horizontal timeline suggestion in the teacher's guide and, by approaching the concept from a variety of directions, she leads the children to a notion of the sequential ordering of the different arrivals. The activity involves those children who are better able to recall the names of the families and their countries of origin. Apart from the distraction of the concurrent drinking activities at the water fountain in the room (a humane gesture by Merle that results in noisy and disruptive behavior), the first part of the activity appears reasonably successful.

Merle expands and adapts the notion of distance and travel as presented in the kit. First she provides illustrative examples of modes of transportation as an introduction and supplement to what has been suggested in the guide. Transportation itself, according to Merle, is a large topic. In an interview later, she states, "In the old enterprise, teachers would spend about two months just teaching transportation." Now she tries to relate the concepts of travel and historical time by discussing very briefly how modes of transportation have changed over time. This aspect of the lesson is less successful and appears too abstract for most of the children. However, by linking the idea of modes of travel and the notion of time, she seems to be trying to get them to understand that the choice of means of transportation involves both distance and time available.

In the interview, when we discuss the problem of conceptual understanding in young children which could be a "conceptual shallowness," Merle states:

> Conceptual shallowness. That's one way to put it. But there are other examples. Take the globe and the idea of distance from say, the Ukraine to Edmonton. The question, "How far is it from the Ukraine to Edmonton?" What does that mean to them? Now, if they've travelled by car across Canada, that's very far. It took a long time to get there. If they flew, say to Toronto, that's not far. It didn't take long.

She has decided not to use the lengths of colored yarn linking two points on the globe, Edmonton and the country or origin of a family, because children at this age experience travel distance largely as a subjective experience of time. "If it felt like it took a long time, it was very far. It was a long trip."

In locating the different countries of origin on the globe, Merle reduces the activity to one of teacher telling rather than involving the students in locating some of the places. During the interview, Merle expresses some confusion as to the way globe and maps should be used in teaching social studies skills. The ultimate authority she refers to on the sequencing of map and globe skills is the skills unit that had been prepared by the school system. She states:

> The whole question of use of globes and maps. How would you introduce the children to these skills? My first inclination would be to start with the globe from the beginning of the year. Now I'm not so sure. I'm so confused about social studies. The first year I taught I kept a globe in my classroom all the time. Then, I'd bring it in sometimes. Three years ago, I decided to try to make a map of the neighborhood and the school after taking them around on a walk. Then, I learned that I was doing it all wrong. In grade one, the mapping should be of the classroom, in grade two, it's the neighborhood, and in grade three it's the city.

Most of the social studies lesson is a discussion based on a question-answer sequence. For example, in getting the children to hypothesize about modes of travel in the past, Merle leads the following discussion:

> "Now I want you to think back in time." says Merle. "During the time, before there were any planes, or boats, how did people travel?"
>
> "Horses, " someone calls out.
>
> Some children raise their hands. Merle chooses one of them. "David?"
>
> "Trains," says David, but Merle does not accept his anwer.
>
> "No," says Merle, "before there were any trains. Terri?"
>
> "Cars?" Terri is uncertain.
>
> "Maybe. . . before there were any cars. What do you think?"
>
> "They walked over a bridge," someone suggests.
>
> Merle presses on.
>
> "Katherine?"
>
> Katherine's answer is inaudible. It is drowned out by the sound of the water fall gushing at the back of the room. The children continue to line up for drinks at the sink. There is constant movement in the room. They chat at the sink as they wait.
>
> Someone still seated at the desks suggests passenger planes. They had been in the book Merle had just shown the class.

"No," Merle insists, "there were no passenger planes yet." Her attention is diverted by someone at the front. They talk, then she continues the discussion, slightly off target. "I would guess that they would go by train, then part way by boat. . ." She switches the question to how the different families came to Canada.

"Now the Browns came to Canada from Jamaica not long ago. How do you think they came? I've had some good guessers, but I'd like to hear from some others. . . Adam? Doug?"

Neither has been paying attention.

Adam's answer is inaudible above the noise.

"Plane, right," repeats Merle.

The tape recorder gives a strange squeak.

"What's that?" they ask, startled.

"That's the machine," says Merle, matter-of-factly. She continues the discussion.

Merle moves to the bulletin board and removes the family group pictures in preparation for the matching of pictures and family names on the timeline. The ensuing activity unfolds as follows:

"Okay! Row 4 has been sitting so quietly, I think maybe they can do the job. Here are the pictures of our families. I've mixed them up again. I want to know who can put them on the chalk tray in the order their names are, in the order that they came to Canada."

Merle pauses, then calls on Sheila.

Sheila comes up, takes the picture, and places it on the chalk tray under the timeline.

"Katherine?" Merle hands her the next picture. Katherine places the picture under the timeline.

"Erika?"

Erika likes to do things carefully. She hesitates. Some of the pictures are not exactly aligned with the name on the timeline.

"Hurry, Erika."

Erika waits.

"Can't decide?" Erika shakes her head.

"Okay, Adam?"

Adam takes the picture of the Kato family and places it in the wrong place.

"Do you all agree with that?" asks Merle.

"No-o-o."

"Then would you agree that it has to be moved? Jennifer, would you go and put it where you would put it?"

Jennifer moves the picture to the correct place and rearranges the others to be in line with the names on the timeline.

"Elmer, do you agree?"

"Yup!" says Elmer.

"Where would you put this one?" asks Merle, showing the last picture to the class.

"Betty?"

Betty places the picture in the correct order.

"Okay!" That's the order they are on the board: Steinhauer, Morin, Kalyna, Kato, and Brown."

February 6, 1980

Graphing family origins. The social studies lesson gets off to a bad start when Merle tries to use the star chart as a way of introducing the idea of graphing. The main purpose of the activity, as outlined in Activity 4, is to introduce graphing skills by showing children how to construct a simple pictograph showing their family origins. Merle holds up the star chart in front of the group assembled on the carpet. Pointing to the rows of blanked-out spaces in the rows opposite the children's names, she asks, "What does this chart tell us about these people?" She reads out their names. Then she points to the rows with the stars still intact opposite some names which she reads aloud. "What does this chart show about these people?" As expected, the discussion tends to focus on the Good Guys and the Bad Guys.

However, Merle quickly drops the idea and, instead, begins to read the countries of origin that had been indicated on the family "roots" sheets that had been returned. Using the list of countries that her helpers have compiled from the data sheets, Merle lists the countries in vertical order on the chalkboard:

Philippines
Great Britain
Ireland
Denmark
Germany

Before writing the next country, she explains to me that she has decided that countries like Esthonia and Latvia would be grouped under a single

USSR entry, because this would simplify and shorten the list. "There are 15 responses and at least 10 different places," she explains.

She continues the listing:

USSR
Holland
Cambodia
Greece
Ukraine

Then at this point, she recognizes the inconsistency, hesitates, then decides "to make an exception in this case." However, a few minutes later, she recalls that she had grouped Scotland and England and the Jersey Islands under Great Britain. She decides she will have to go back to split up that designation into separate countries.

By this time, the attention of the children has been lost and they begin to move about restlessly on the carpet. David sits in his desk, his head down, and appears very unhappy with the world. When I had offered to help him earlier during the preceding math exercise, he had cooperated without saying a word. In the staff room, when I first arrived, Merle and the music teacher had been discussing his behavior in the music class. On the table near the music teacher's books, I noticed that David had signed a "contract" with the music teacher. She said that when she told him that she wanted to have a "talk" with him, he got very frightened and almost ran out of the room. Merle had explained to the music teacher that David had had a strap the year before in his other school and that was probably the only "talk" he knew about. At that point, I had related to them David's theory as to why Merle had dragged Ralph out of the room on "needle" day. "How ironic," Merle had said, "that David should think Ralph was going to get a strap in the office. Peter, our principal, is against strapping in principle."

Now, during the social studies lesson, the music teacher suddenly appears in the doorway and David leaves with her. He returns shortly after and goes directly to his desk where he remains for the rest of the period.

Merle begins to read the names of the countries that had been listed on the family "roots" sheets. Beginning with the first country on the list, the Philippines, she finds that only Betty's sheet names that country, with both her parents claiming it as their country of origin. Opposite the Philippines, Merle makes two tally marks on the chalkboard. Then she goes on to Great Britain, the next entry on the list, and begins to shuffle through the papers, trying to find the correct data sheet that had referred to that country of origin. Soon she realizes that this will be a time-consuming, tedious process. So she decides to move to the next step of the activity: deciding how to represent pictorially the number of families belonging to a particular ethno-cultural group. The discussion proceeds:

> "What do all these families have?" Merle asks the children, who are now playing about on the carpet. She receives an interesting variety of responses, such as, "People!" to which Merle replies, "Yes, all families have people, but we need to draw something simple that can stand for a family. It would take a lot of room to draw people."
>
> Someone suggests that all families have a car. The discussion, led by Merle, now focuses on whether or not the statement is true. "Do all families have a car?" she asks. From the few children who are still paying some attention to the activity, come some "Yes" and some "No" responses. Merle ends that discussion by stating, "I know some families who do not have a car."
>
> This leads to the observation, "Well then they travel by bus," and someone else adds, "Our family is planning to take a trip by train."
>
> Merle tries to keep them from side-tracking by asking Sherman, "Where do you live, Sherman?" Sherman, who has been playing at his desk where he had been sent earlier, looks up, startled, and asks, "What?" Merle repeats the question, adding "Do you live in a house

> or in an apartment?" "A house," says Sherman.
>
> Turning back to the group, Merle poses the question: "How many of you live in a house?" One or two hands go up. "Now how many of you live in an apartment?" No hands go up. They are not listening. Merle glances in my direction, as if to say, "Can you believe that?"
>
> She continues. "Although many people do not live in a house, they still call it a house."
>
> Sherman shakes his head. "No, an apartment is not a house. A house is a house."
>
> Merle tries again. "When you leave school at the end of the day, where do you go?"
>
> "Home!" comes a chorus of voices, from a few more people on the carpet.
>
> "Right!" says Merle. "Where we live is called our home". She begins to say, "We can draw a little house to show each family's home," then she looks up at the clock. It is 2 minutes to 3, so she says, "When you get to your desk, I will hand out your folders."
>
> The lights go off, and the graphing exercise is over.

As the children move to their desks, she tells them they will be playing a little game with plasticine. They are to pretend that their family is moving. They are to think of one thing that they would like to pack to take with them and they are to make it out of plasticine.

Then Merle explains to me that the photocopying machine had broken down so she had been unable to get the student masters reproduced for the social studies period as planned. The plasticine is an improvisation. We then discuss the problems with the graphing activity. After I had examined the data sheets that had been returned, I could see that the original format was at fault, having assumed that each family could be labeled according to a particular ethno-cultural group. Instead, most sheets had listed more than one country of origin opposite each parent. Adaptation was definitely in order. I suggest that she try listing the children's names vertically, and the countries mentioned on the sheets horizontally, then the graph for each child would show the ethno-cultural origin or mixture of origins. Judging from the data on the sheets, the children in her class come from a variety of mixed ethno-cultural backgrounds.

Later, the following week, Merle's helpers compile a chart showing the cultural origins of the children in the class. The chart is posted outside the door and attracts some attention from the children in Merle's class and in other classes. However, Elmer's father, who waited in the hallway for Elmer until school was over one day, commented to me in conversation, "It's about time we forgot about stuff like that and became Canadian!" Elmer and several other children did not return the forms.

February 8, 1980

Heart-making and heart-breaking. Merle had warned me on Wednesday that part of the double-period of social studies on Friday would be devoted to making Valentines. And that is what they are doing when I arrive. Using "tracers," the children draw large hearts and half-hearts on construction paper, cut them out, then paste them together to resemble a bird in flight. Some even add extra decoration such as features. However, as I walk about the room, I notice that four children are not making valentines. I approach two of them, Charlie and Matt, and ask them for an explanation. According to my field notes, this is how Charlie understands the situation:

> Charlie is sitting in his desk, shredding his name tag with some scissors. I kneel down beside his desk. "Where is your paper?" I ask. "I lost all my stars," Charlie whispers to me. "I can't do that," he adds, looking longingly at the others who are walking about the room and making their Valentine birds.
>
> "Oh," I ask, "How did it happen? How did you lose all your stars?"
>
> "Because I was bad," he says, his mouth twisting into a strange shape as he furiously works his scissors and demolishes the rest of the paper name tag.
>
> "What did you do that was bad?" I ask, innocently.

> "Well," says Charlie, "David came to me, and he started up something, and the teacher said I was bad." He fights back tears.
>
> "Were you bad?" I ask directly.
>
> "No," he replies, looking right into my eyes. "It wasn't my fault. But she took my stars away." He sniffles, then looks at me again.
>
> Meanwhile, Matt, who has turned around, is trying to butt in, but I tell him I will be with him next, "but it is Charlie's turn now."
>
> I continue to press Charlie for some possible reasons for losing stars. "Did you do anything that was bad, that would make the teacher take away your stars?"
>
> "No," says Charlie. He thinks a moment. "But sometimes I talk." He is now digging into the palm of his hands with his scissors, twisting and turning the blades into his flesh--not too forcefully, but enough to be as painful outside as it is inside.

I move on to hear Matt's story of why he is not allowed to join in the Valentine-making activity. Matt has spent his time turning around and "bugging" the girl behind him. She tells me furiously, as I approach Matt's desk, "I keep telling him to quit it! quit it! but he keeps butting in. He keeps saying to me that I love him but I don't!" I listen to Matt's view of the situation:

> Matt, too, is not sure why he lost his stars. When pressed for possible reasons, he claims he's been victimized in a controversial situation in which he became the culprit.
>
> "Can you think of any way that you can change your behavior, Matt," I ask, "so that it doesn't happen again?"
>
> "Nope!" says Matt. "But I never dun nutting!"

I look around the room to see how the other two miscreants are taking their punishment. Dick, in Row 1, has spent the period muttering to himself as he fingers his glasses. One temple, he had informed me earlier, had been broken during a fight at recess.

Although David is not tracing any Valentines and is supposed to be sitting in his desk (according to Merle), he is working industriously, cleaning up the room. Dragging the heavy wastebasket behind him, David dives under each desk and brings up scraps of paper and crayons that have been strewn about by the creative artists at work. Methodically, he works his way up and down the aisles, seeking favors from no one, until, finally, his job done, he returns to his desk. I kneel down beside him and say, "I noticed how hard you worked at cleaning up today, David. That was very nice of you."

"Go away," says David, his back turned to me. "I'm not speaking to you." "Fine," I reply and I leave. Something is happening in David's world.

With the heart activity completed, I find myself hanging the Valentines on the overhead clothesline as Merle and the rest of the group who are finished move to the carpet. There they review some of the family words on the Family Word Tree. I hear Merle introduce and briefly discuss the word "immigrant." Then she has them return to their desks as they work on a decision-making exercise where they pretend to be a French-Canadian boy named Pierre whose family was moving to Alberta long ago in pioneer days. Pierre has to choose three things to pack in the trunk.

"When you make your choices of what to pack, think carefully about it because later we will share our decisions with others." These are some of the instructions issued by Merle. As they work on the exercise, their reactions vary. I walk from desk to desk and question them about their choices. Many rush through the initial three choices without considering all the alternatives. Some are unable to make up their minds; others want help in deciding what is right. Several have selected only toys from the illustrations on the page. Others prefer to mix something practical for the whole family with something personal and "just for fun." David has chosen three different toys, one for his younger brother, one for his sister, and one for himself. One person decides against choosing the mitt "because it needs a pair, one's no good by itself." I hear one boy say that he'd take "a saw because we need to build a log cabin." Another thinks a "jackknife would be practical since there were no stores." One person goes through the entire list, finds something good about each, and says, "I just can't make up my mind." A soft voice behind me asks, "Who is Pierre?"

At 3:20 P.M. Merle brings in the Helping Hands silhouettes for those who have kept all their stars: Trish and Sheila. For the rest, who still have seven or more stars, she gives out Good Guy Badges and they stick the stars, which she counts out and gives them, to the badges. Matt and Doug cannot understand why they do not get Good Guy Badges. When I leave for home, Merle is still trying to explain it all to a tearful Doug who sits on the bench outside the room and cries.

February 11, 1980

On being a Canadian. Arriving during Merle's 'prep' time, I find her cleaning up the room and preparing for the social studies lesson that is slated for the last period of the day. She has decided to use a flannel board with cut-out illustrations from the decision-making student master that the students had completed last day. During our discussion, Merle mentions that the new seating plan has solved some problems but has created the potential for others.

During the social studies period, the flannel board activity provides an opportunity for seven students, selected by Merle, to share their decisions with the whole group. After each student's turn, Merle leads a brief class discussion that involves others in the class. Through extending questions, she encourages the students to consider other alternatives, to examine some consequences, and to seek solutions to some problems she posits. The children enjoy the activity, but as it goes on there are growing signs of restlessness.

Merle proceeds to discuss the concepts of immigration and citizenship in preparation for the follow-up work sheet, a "Canadian Scroll" that she has selected from Activity 4. The whole-class discussion begins with the concept of "immigrant" which had been briefly introduced during the last social studies period. Now, Merle expands the concept through a simplified lecture as follows:

> "Who can remember that word we added to our Family Word Tree last Friday?" Merle asks as she looks in the direction of the bulletin board. Some children call out inappropriate responses. Erika, however, is able to supply the word "immigrant."
>
> "Immigrant. Let's say it together. Immigrant. Do you remember what it means? 'Somone who was somewhere else and then decided to come to live here.' An immigrant is not just a visitor for a short while, but someone who moves from one place to another and decides to live in a new country."
>
> "Today, however, we are going to learn another new word: citizen." After printing the word on the chalkboard, she continues, "We are all citizens in this room. Mrs. Odynak is not a citizen in this room. She is a visitor. We are citizens because we live in Edmonton. We are Canadian citizens because we live in Canada. We are not just visiting Canada. We live here."

However, by this time student attention has lapsed. David lies across the seat of his desk, swinging his body until he falls over with a crash. During the "lecture" Merle moves about the room, confiscating various items off the students' desks. Using Rosie's sister as an example of a Canadian citizen visiting Ireland, Merle explains that there are "two ways of acquiring citizenship: you can be born here or you can move here as an immigrant and become a citizen." She uses Betty's parents as an example of immigrants who are now Canadian citizens.

The follow-up activity consists of printing their own names and the date on a Canadian Scroll. A preliminary discussion focuses on various symbols which represent Canada or Alberta. Canadian coins are used as concrete examples which use symbols. The discussion reveals that some children are very aware of which Canadian symbols are used on the various coins such as a nickel, a dime, and a quarter. They correctly identify the caribou, beaver, and ship symbols. Merle also draws their attention to the maple leaf in the Canadian flag as another symbol or picture of Canada. She suggests these symbols can be drawn on the scrolls.

After school, Merle confides in the staff room, "I thought that flannel board activity went rather well." However, she is "not too sure about all that Canadian citizen stuff." As someone who was not raised in Canada, she "had had it up to here with patriotism and jingoism which can be overdone." Furthermore, she adds, "I draw the line at 'saluting the flag' and 'singing O'Canada' every morning in grade one as some teachers do."

February 12, 1980

Research questions. When I enter the classroom just as the students are returning from recess, I set up the audiotape for the upcoming social studies lesson since Merle is on supervision. Then I intervene in a toque-snatching contest between David and Dick. By the time Merle enters the room, David is seated at his desk trying to be "good." He waves his hand impatiently as she goes about her preparations. He mutters, "How long do I have to wait? Two hundred and fifty years before you notice?

Come on!" Finally, when Merle "recognizes" him, David launches into a long complaint: "I thought I could do it next week. We were suppose to start all over again. You said."

Merle explains, "That was last week. You lost all your stars so you couldn't make Valentines. This week you have to try harder to keep your stars. There are still two chances left to make Valentines, tomorrow and the day after."

"You mean tomorrow is Valentine's Day?" asks David.

"No, not tomorrow, but the next day, Thursday, is Valentine's Day."

For the social studies lesson to begin, these and other matters have to be settled first. At 2:29 P.M. the social studies lesson begins when Merle says they are to come to the carpet as soon as their row is called. She will play the tape again about the five families and they are to listen very carefully to the questions that Mighty Moose asks about the families. After listening to the tape, they will have to tell her the questions so that she can print them on the board. All the children, with the exception of Charlie, David, Dick and Sheila, come to the carpet.

As soon as Merle starts the tape, David and Charlie begin cleaning up the room, noisily dragging the metal wastebasket after them, aligning the desks, straightening lunch buckets in the cloakroom, and picking up paper. Both the student teacher and I find these activities highly distracting, as do some of the children, but Merle doesn't seem to notice or object. She is busy manipulating the hand puppet as the tape plays and she orients the children toward the proper group picture as each family is mentioned. The whole group listens much more attentively than before, but as soon as the tape ends they become restless again. Some children are sent back to their desks.

She asks the children to recall the questions heard on the tape. On the chalkboard she prints the stem: "Do all Canadian families. . ." When she asks someone to complete the question, Sherman raises his head and suggests, "Do all Canadian families come from the same place?" Someone else recalls, "Do all Canadian families have the same name?" The third question that is recalled is, "Do all Canadian families eat the same food?" Someone remembers a fourth question, "Do all Canadian families live in the same kind of a house?" Each of these questions is printed on the chalkboard. However, before the whole series can be completed, it is time to get ready for library.

February 13, 1980

Hypothesizing. With adjustments to the timetable to accommodate making Valentine card holders, the social studies, which is supposed to be a double period, becomes a single period earlier in the afternoon, in place of mathematics. The lesson begins with a replay of a segment of the tape which contained the research questions. After listening to the tape, the children are able to recall two more questions which are added to the list on the chalkboard. The added questions are: "Do all Canadian families have the same kind of fun?" "Do all Canadian families do the same kind of work?" Merle is surprised and pleased with their ability to recall the questions.

Before involving the children in the exercise on hypothesizing about Canadian families, Merle provides the following definition of the word "hypothesis":

> "Today I have a new word for you." She walks to the board and prints the word 'citizen.' She continues,

> "Yesterday, you learned the word 'citizen,' and today the new word is 'hypothesis.'" She prints 'hypothesis' on the board and then explains, "Hypothesis is like a guess. For example, have you ever wakened in the morning and with your eyes still closed, you wondered if any other members of your family were awake? As you lie there with your eyes closed, you listen for clues that will tell you if someone is up already."
>
> She then leads the children in a discussion about a possible personal experience, asking different children to tell the class how they would know if their father or mother or some member of the family were up by the sounds they would hear.
>
> She concludes the discussion and introduction of the word hypothesis by asking them "to play the game tomorrow morning: lie in bed and keep your eyes closed, then try to hypothesize about which member of the family is making the sounds. Another hypothesis or guess you could make would be to try to guess what kind of a day it is outside. Then get up and check to see whether your guess was correct. Another hypothesis could be to try to guess how many children from this class would be in school that day, then check to see if your guess was the correct number."

In Merle's view, "Children should know that hypothesizing is a normal, everyday activity, not just something done in science or social studies at certain times."

Using the overhead transparency of the student master on hypothesizing from Activity 5, Merle shows the children how to complete the different questions on the individual copies of the student master they have received. As they complete the exercise, I walk from desk to desk. Immediately it is apparent that several students have paid no attention to the instructions. Instead, some like Matt, don't get started because they have no pencil. When I suggest that he use a crayon, Matt protests, "Oh, no! that is not allowed!" Consequently, until I find him a pencil, he falls far behind the sequenced questions. Some of the children begin coloring the little illustrations inside the boxes, others circle the pictures rather than the box, and still others rush to my side and ask, "What are we supposed to do?"

When I communicate their difficulties to Merle, her response is, "I'm just following the procedures." With the possible exception of Judy, who seems to know what she is doing, the rest do a lot of circling, erasing, and recircling after looking at other's papers. Merle follows the instructions, emphasizing that there are no right or wrong answers. With the music lesson approaching, Merle rushes through the remaining questions at the bottom of the page.

During the post-interactive evaluation session with Merle which follows immediately after the lesson (while the children are away in music), Merle describes the lesson and activity in positive terms:

> Merle comments that she rather liked the exercise because it was one of the first attempts that she had seen made to try to get the abstract treatment of hypothesizing down to more concrete terms.
>
> She says she had been surprised to see how well they had recalled the questions from the tape and she was now beginning to think "that's a real good way of getting them to think about the questions for research."
>
> Merle laughs and adds, "To tell you frankly, if this model or whatever is in the social studies had been left at the abstract stage, I very much doubt that I would have ever gotten around to putting it into practice without specific instructions and materials on how to do it. I'm sure that next time around it will be easier. But I'd probably add something else or leave something out or do it differently."

Merle likes the convenience of having a transparency that helps focus student attention on the work sheet they are completing. Generally, she seems quite pleased with the lesson and the materials provided.

In constrast, observing how the students actually completed the exercise and knowing something about their inability to follow instructions from previous observations in other contexts, makes me doubt the validity of the exercise. There were too many opportunities for misinterpretation.

February 15, 1980

More hypothesizing. With the double period of social studies on Friday, I expect that Merle will try to complete the last of the activities in the Opener so that the group work in the Research section can begin on Monday. However, as soon as I enter the classroom, I can see that Social Studies is once again "the Cinderella subject" on the timetable. The students are directed to complete the unfinished mathematics exercise that they had started earlier that afternoon. To make matters worse, Merle announces shortly after my arrival, "I have to be out of the room for a few minutes but Mrs. Odynak will look after things and let those who have to go to the bathroom leave."

I am annoyed. Not only am I not familiar with the particular math exercise, but the manner in which I have been left in charge of the bathroom brigade is bound to create difficulties. Suddenly, a number of people have an urgent need to go to the bathroom. They rush up to me. I make them sit down and then I try to establish some way of taking turns. "I will allow no more than two out of the room at a time," I say, turning my attention to the requests for help with the math exercise.

The work sheet carries no instructions so I surmise that it is a matching of geometric shapes which have to be cut out from one portion and pasted in another. The shapes are difficult to distinguish because of design problems. Then there is an acute scissors dispute between Faye and Matt that needs immediate arbitration. This is followed by several complaints that there is no more glue in the bottles.

So absorbed am I in these matters that I fail to notice that Doug, Charlie, and Sherman are all out of the room at the same time. Suddenly, there is a loud commotion in the hallway. My field notes communicate the crisis:

> At this point, Doug and Charlie came flying into the room. Charlie rushes to his desk, a 'wild' look on his face. He sits 'frozen' in his desk, a sure sign of trouble. Doug comes up to me (I can smell urine) and in a plaintive voice begins to blurt out something about ". . . and I told him to stop but he stuck his fingers up my nose. . ." He looks in Charlie's direction, and half-crying, he returns to his desk.
>
> Just then, Mr. Sloan, the custodian, appears in the doorway, and in a stentorian voice shouts: "Doug, just who do you think you are?. . . You're not a very nice person. . ."
>
> I am shocked at the tone and words of accusation.
>
> Shortly after, Merle and the principal appear briefly in the doorway and then leave. Feeling very angry and used in this situation, I feel responsible for whatever has happened, for allowing it to happen, but I still don't know what has transpired.
>
> I notice Sherman slip quietly into the room and sit in his desk. He is just too quiet, too subdued.
>
> Then Merle appears, carrying a plastic bag full of new glue bottles. As she proceeds to distribute them, I ask her quietly about what had happened. She replies, in an undertone, "I have problems accepting Sherman's explanation of what happened in the boys' bathroom. I keep saying to myself, I must trust him, but he still seems sneaky to me. I just can't picture Doug doing something like that."
>
> I look puzzled.
>
> She whispers, "Sherman told Mr. Sloan that Doug had urinated all over the bathroom floor."

At 2:45 P.M. the social studies lesson finally begins. The children gather on the carpet and Merle hands out colored pencil crayons and individual copies of Student Master No. 9 from the kit. The exercise is designed to provide some affective indication of the students' feelings about families from other cultural groups. Merle calls Dick several times, but he lies on his side and moans. It is then I realize that Merle had had to handle another crisis--Dick's accident.

As Merle begins her instructions, I turn on the tape recorder. This attracts the attention of some students who attempt to grab the microphone. No matter where I lay it, they find it. There is no quiet spot on the carpet or nearby to set it down. Fortunately, I take running notes as well, for the transcript of the tape is not too useful. The children are sprawled all over the carpet--some under the step stool, some on their backs, others hiding behind the easel, and so on.

Holding up a copy of the student master, Merle explains that the three different kinds of faces in each row are meant to show their feeling about things. One is a "happy" face, another is an "I-don't-care" face, and the third is an "unhappy" face. As she reads each statement, they are to decide how they feel about it and then circle the one face in each row which describes how they feel. The five questions she reads to them are: "How would you feel if someone tried to teach you a French song?" "How would you feel if someone invited you to a Jamaican dinner?" "How would you feel if someone invited you to an Indian pow wow?" "How would you feel if someone gave you a Ukrainian Easter egg?" "How would you feel if someone tried to teach you a Japanese game?"

It was intended that these questions would be given before and after the research activities which involved learning something about the lives of the five Canadian families. While they were not intended to provide a "hard" measure of affect, they were a form of hypothesizing which was then subject to confirmation or disconfirmation with further evidence. However, the exercise, as administered in this class, becomes rather farcical since students discuss their choices with others and make changes if their "pals" have a different answer.

Then, Merle asks the children if they have done their "home work" on hypothesizing as she had suggested. Although several hands so up, when a child is asked to explain to the class, her experience is lost amidst the noise and confusion. The children are extremely restless. Merle tries and fails to hold their attention long enough to begin the discussion of charting which will appear in Activity 6.

February 18, 1980

Charting and grouping. The social studies lesson begins when Merle, after pinning up large sheets of paper above the chalkboard at the front, does a quick review of ways they can record what they have learned about Canadian families. During the discussion, more and more stars "fall" as one child after another misbehaves. After informing the children that a "chart" is another way of recording information, Merle prints the key concepts in vertical order on the Master Chart, using some of the procedures suggested in the Kanata Kit 1 teacher's guide. However, instead of ruling neat columns and making sure the printed headings are clearly distinguishable, Merle prints "free-hand," using different colored wax crayons for each concept. Merle explains that each word is meant to remind them of the "big questions" asked by Mighty Moose on the tape. Each question also has two "little questions." However, they do not have to remember all the questions at once because they will be working on each different question over the next few weeks.

Leaving the Master Chart behind, Merle proceeds to the suggested procedures for grouping and rotating group leaders. When someone wants to know what a "group leader" is, a discussion follows on the responsibilities of group leadership: "choosing what the group has to do" and "seeing that the group follows the rules." The next discussion focuses on rules of group behavior: "doing your work, taking turns, deciding together, listening to others, sharing things, helping others." These rules are printed on the chalkboard as suggested (mainly by Merle).

Groups are assigned by rows, with one group per family. On each group chart, Merle has made a vertical set of colored brackets coded to match the colored concept words on the Master Chart. Each row or group receives one chart. The first person in the row becomes the group leader for the day. Each group leader is handed a box of crayons. The instructions are that the group leader is to print the name of the family group on the chart paper using the green crayon. The groups are told "to find a place to work somewhere in the room where you can work together."

Inexperience with group work and the working conditions affect the manner in which the groups set about accomplishing the task. Some take a while to find a place, roaming about the room. I work with Group 5 in which Matt is the leader. David, however, refuses to give up the crayon box. Matt does not know what to do, so I explain to him that as group leader he is responsible for printing the family name of the group they will be studying in the appropriate place on the chart. David, disappointed that he had not been chosen to print as he is "the best printer," expresses his annoyance by walking over the paper and crumpling it. When Matt prints the family name with one letter reversed, the group protests--loudly. In another group led by Doug, nothing is accomplished at first because Doug is in the bathroom. When he returns, he prints the family name in the space indicated. In both cases, I bring the appropriate group picture from the bulletin board so that they can copy the name on to the chart. When it is time to clean up, Doug drops the crayon box and leaves. I call him back and remind him of his responsibilities as group leader.

The group work is likely to cause a lot of difficulty because none of their class work is based on a group research model. They are either in a teacher-directed group or they work individually. Charting, too, is a new experience for them and will have to be closely monitored to ensure that certain routines are set up and followed. Working with five groups simultaneously is a challenging task with such immature children.

February 19, 1980

Group-work rules and evaluation. The classroom is in its usual state of disorder when the social studies lesson begins. After surveying the scene, Merle announces that it is "clean up" time. Children begin to carry work sheets and booklets to one of two vinyl baskets at the front of the room, sorting papers into the finished and unfinished work files. After a few minutes of rushing about, the place does look a little more tidy, but articles of clothing still lie about.

Then Merle says it is "catch-up" time. Unfinished work has to be finished at this time. Merle compliments the groups for the work done yesterday in completing their assigned tasks.

The main emphasis in the social studies lesson is on the self-evaluation of group work, Student Master No. 9 from Activity 6 which Merle distributes to each student. She explains that Mighty Moose has a set of group rules much like those they had drawn up yesterday. Using this list, they are to think about how they had worked in their group yesterday and to check off those rules they had followed. The faces at the bottom of the sheet show how they felt about the group experience they had yesterday.

The exercise is interesting to observe. Most of the children are not self-critical; they check off all the rules. One student had been absent yesterday, yet she checks off all the rules. Another, who has a speech impediment, conscientiously indicates: "Did not speak clearly." Jennifer circles an unhappy face and when questioned about it, replies, "I didn't get to do anything." However, Merle does not consider the exercise a valid measure of their self-perception. "Perhaps with repeated use after several group experiences, it might acquire some meaning," she concedes.

The period concludes with "organizing" time when the student masters are to be filed away in the family folders in numerical order. When Merle starts handing back some of the student masters, there are several with no names. Booklets are missing for three of the students.

When I suggest to Merle that we meet after school for the long-awaited interview, she says she has some power test marking to do. I ask whether she would like me to prepare a set of questions for her written reaction, or perhaps she would like a photocopy of the guide where she could write in comments in the margin as she went along. Merle responds with, "I'm not much for writing things down daily. I think I'd prefer if we just talk about it." She also comments that, in her opinion, "The half of an in-service which I had attended last year on social studies was insufficient. There was nothing on the model or how to implement it." When I ask her whether she thinks consultants should wait until they are asked or whether they should schedule system-wide in-service whenever new changes are proposed, she replies, "Teachers have to be shown what is supposed to be changed, otherwise they'll just keep on doing what they've always done."

February 20, 1980

Group interaction. While I set the next tape in the tape recorder, Merle reviews the group family name by rows. The children remember their group name and number and someone in each group is able to recall the place of origin of their family. Merle calls the group leaders, now the second person in each row, together at the front and issues their instructions which they are to relay to the rest of the group. The remainder of the class are allowed to play a game called "King and Queen of Silence" in which the quietest person, initially selected and "crowned" by the teacher, then observes the rest for a short while before placing the crown on another quiet person's head. On the carpet, Merle tells the leaders to watch as she prints the two "little questions" about food on the Master Chart. When they return to their groups, they are to repeat these questions and to ask their group members to hypothesize about what they think their group's family might like to eat. After that, the group leader is to choose someone to draw what they think the group family's favorite food might be. The instructions sound very complex.

The charts are handed to each group leader who then finds a place to work with the rest of the group. There is much milling about and almost total confusion as the leaders circle around looking for a spot and the group members wonder what they are to do. I join Group 5. Katherine, who had been absent the previous day, enjoys playing the role of leader to the hilt. Grasping the crayon box firmly, she says, "Okay, now I'll choose who will print the words." Meanwhile, Matt and Charlie chase each other around. Only Rosie seems ready to work. (David, a member of the group, had been excused earlier for a medical appointment.) Katherine chooses Rosie to draw the food and she, herself, will print the words. Then, she looks at me and asks, "What am I supposed to print?" I grab Matt and Charlie as they race by. Katherine complains, "They don't want to listen to me."

After the group members have been assembled, I try to get them to review the instructions. Katherine says they have "to talk about what their favorite foods are," then they have "to draw one on the chart." "Pissgetti," Matt offers, "that's my favorite." "Nah," says Charlie. "Steak, that's what I like." Matt changes his mind. "Yeah, steak. I like steak too." Katherine, ignoring the boys, purses her lips, and turning to Rosie, she asks, "What food do you think is right, Rosie?" "Macaroni and cheese," says Rosie promptly. "Yes," agrees Katherine, the keeper of the crayons, "that's what I say. Rosie, you will draw the macaroni and cheese." Both Matt and Charlie protest. "That's not fair, we want steak!"

I suggest that perhaps both choices can be included. "No," says Katherine emphatically, "she said only one and it's macaroni and cheese." Katherine begins drawing, but I remind her that she had said Rosie could do it. Reluctantly, she hands Rosie a crayon but Rosie says, "I don't know how to draw macaroni." Charlie offers to do it and he grabs for the crayon. I point him toward the rules that are still on the board. "Aren't you forgetting something, Charlie?" I ask. Charlie grins. "Share. Take turns." "That's right," I say, "and what do you think Mighty Moose would say if he were watching you?" "He'd laugh," says Charlie.

"How could we help Rosie?" I ask. "What ideas could you share with her?" Charlie thinks a moment and then suggests that she draw "half a tire. That's like macaroni."

As the drawing progresses, I ask if any one can think of a favorite food that the Kalyna family in their group might like (original hypothesis). Charlie, who is half-Ukrainian shouts, "Purrohe!" "But," argues Katherine, "we can only draw one food. It's macaroni." She turns to me and asks imploringly, "But what am I supposed to print?"

After clarifying the instructions with Merle, I return to the group and inform them that more than one food is permissable. I tell Katherine she is to print "Food" inside the colored brackets. The boys are delighted that they can include steak. They grab some crayons from Katherine. Matt draws a brown steak and Charlie draws a charred steak. "My steak is burnt," he says.

Merle announces that it is clean up time. The group leaders are to bring the charts up to the front where Merle discusses the choices. The next step in the procedure, as outlined in the guide, is to have them check their hypotheses by looking at the study print and then by listening to the taped story. Merle begins the story first, then realizes there are accompanying pictures which she then brings out of the kit. After playing the portion of the tape dealing with the food preferences of the Morin family, Merle stops the tape and asks the children to recall the foods they have heard. This leads into a discussion of personal food favorites, and then to a discussion of the foods shown in the study print. Merle does not attempt to distinguish between "favorite" and "special" (ethnic) foods as has been done in the kit.

After school, some of the children want to play with the recorder.

Dick ignores my suggestion that he get dressed and leave. "I don't have to," he says. Merle, after trying to talk to him about "what is troubling" him, joins me in the staff room. I mention to her that I had seen Dick, who had promised the music teacher he would behave, slithering along the hallway on his back and trailing behind the group as they went to music.

"That poor woman," murmurs Merle. "I wish she wouldn't. . . They really give her a rough time. I suppose it's my fault. Sometimes they do it to me too." She thinks a while, then adds, "Perhaps I should enforce rules more."

"Well," I say, wryly, "it's rather difficult to manage since they're all such individuals in this class."

"That's right," she says, looking directly at me. "That's a good way to put it. Yet seeing them as individuals and treating them as individuals is very, very hard to do." She adds, "When I was getting my training, that's all we heard--'individualize instruction,' and 'each child is an individual,' but I think the pendulum has swung back now. When you meet with parents, all they seem to want you to do is see that their child can spell and read and do arithmetic. I always say to them, when someone is not doing well in school that 'We have a problem--you, I, and the child with the problem.'"

"How would you describe the change in public mood?" I ask, probing a bit.

"Reactionary, I'd say," Merle replies, then adds, "But it's not just a change in the public mood, there's a real split in the profession itself. There's a real split in this school, that I know."

February 22, 1980

TGIF: Thank God it's Friday. When I enter the room at 2:20 P.M., I am expecting a double-period of social studies for a change. Instead, I face a barrage of tattling: "Doug stole a pair of binoculars!" Merle enters the room shortly after. She sits down on the step stool and solemnly faces the class. I am about to witness a "classroom meeting about a problem we have in this room." This is what transpires:

> "Boys and girls, I have heard stories about some people in this room," Merle says quietly. "Yeah! Doug stole binoculars!" Silencing him with an upraised hand, Merle goes on, "I don't want to hear about it right now, David. First I would like to hear what Doug has to say."
>
> Doug, sitting in his desk, has his head in his hands. He sits up slowly and begins to speak in a rambling manner. "Well, I was on my way to the store. . . and I saw something . . . binoculars. . . . I found them in a tree!"
>
> Merle listens, then seeks clarification. "You found some binoculars. You found some binoculars in a tree, Doug, right?"
>
> Doug nods his head, facing his accusers.
>
> "Where was the tree, Doug?" Merle asks patiently.
>
> "It was a tree near our house," says Doug.
>
> "So you say that you found some binoculars in a tree near your house." She pauses for a few minutes. Calls of "He stole them! He stole them!" come from across the room, from David and Rosie. Merle silences them with her hand again.
>
> "Doug, please go to the back of the room and bring me your jacket," Merle says in a quiet, but firm voice.
>
> Doug sits in his desk, then he slowly gets up and walks to the cloakroom, his head hanging down. Nothing happens. The whole room waits expectantly. Merle moves closer to the side chalkboard where she can see into the cloakroom.
>
> "Hurry up, Doug," she says patiently. "Bring me your jacket, please."
>
> Still no action from Doug, no sounds that I can hear since my view is blocked by the cloakroom partition. Merle repeats her request. Finally, Doug brings his jacket to her. She takes it from him. She plunges her hand into one pocket. Nothing. She places her hand in the other pocket. She holds it there as she looks at Doug. Then she pulls it out.
>
> In her hand is some plastic object, half clear and green (could it be tape?). She looks at Doug, who is now seated in his desk, looking very glum.
>
> "Doug," she says in a calm, quiet voice. "I'm disappointed. How can I believe that you don't take things

when I see that you've taken something of mine without asking for permission. You know that you are not supposed to look in my desk or in my closet unless I ask you to do so."

Merle tells Doug to hang up his jacket. When he returns to his desk, she says, with a sad look on her face, "Doug, I would like to have a talk with you after school."

Merle now turns to Doug's accusers. While Merle was searching Doug's pockets, David, who sat directly in front of me, watched intently, a smile on his face. When Merle chastised Doug after finding the object in his pocket, David clapped his hands several times.

"David, how do you know that Doug stole the binoculars?" Merle asks firmly. "Did you see him do it?"

"No," says David quickly, "but Rosie told me."

Turning to Rosie, Merle asks, "Rosie, did you see Doug take the binoculars?"

Rosie, squirming a bit, says, "No," then in a halting manner she keeps insisting that "he did it though!" After further probing by Merle, Rosie admits that she actually didn't see him do it, "but Stephen was there and he said he saw him and then he told me."

Merle begins "summing up" the case, still speaking in calm, measured tones. "There are lessons to be learned in this room. Doug, you are not to go into my desk or closet without my permission. What happened in this room has nothing to do with what some of you are saying about Doug. That is a different matter. Now, David, you are not to believe everything that Rosie says. Rosie, you are not to believe everything that Stephen says. If you yourself did not see someone do something, do not spread stories about someone."

As she spoke, David insisted very emphatically, "But I saw him. He stole them. He did, I know."

Merle stops. She looks at David. "David, you told me earlier that you had heard it from Rosie. That meant that you didn't see him do it."

"Yes, I did," David blurts out. "I saw him," and nodding his head, he begins to relate some other incident involving shoplifting.

Merle stops him with a curt, "I don't want to hear about that, David! We are not talking about that now. You said before that you had heard about it from Rosie. That means that you were not there." She pauses.

"All right! I've heard enough. It is time to get to work." The hearing is over. But the mood remains electric the rest of the afternoon.

Social studies begins with a review of the Morin family's favorite foods shown in the study print. They are eating Chinese food. None of the other foods mentioned on the tape that are "ethnic," such as tourtière come up in the discussion. Merle tells the children that during the first part of the work, they do not need group leaders for listening, but in the second part, the third person in the row will be group leader. Before calling them to the carpet, she asks, "How many of you would like to sit on the pillows?" The response is almost unanimous, except for David, Dick, and Doug, who is still "in the dog house" and is resting his head on his hands on top of the desk. Pillow rules are reviewed: "Sit on the pillow, do not lie on the pillow." The children come up to the carpet as their row is called. They listen to the rest of the tape about what Canadian families like to eat.

After resuming the story where it had been left off the last day of listening, where Mighty Moose and Sophie Squirrel had finished relating their 'food adventures' with the Morins, Merle displays the appropriate study print as each family's foods are discussed. She stops the tape just before the last family's 'food adventure' is related by Mighty Moose and Sophie Squirrel. The discussion, in each case, focuses on the data in the study print with only occasional reference to the tape which has many more details on it. I think she assumes that what is on the tape is also in the picture.

As a developer, I had intended that the children proceed through the research steps in sequence: first hypothesizing on the basis of their personal experience what the family's food preferences would be; then checking their hypotheses by examining the study prints (limited data) and then listening to a fuller account on the tape. I realize now that the content load on the tapes is too much for most of these children to absorb. Besides, focusing on the visual seemed easier for them than trying to listen in that noisy environment. My reasoning had been that the study prints presented only a 'static' view of cultural food preferences which could lead to stereotyping. The tape presented a broader, more balanced picture of the variety of food preferences which were not exclusively "ethnic." In the French-Canadian family's case, the study print showed them eating Chinese food which I had expected would prompt some discussion, in simpler terms, of "cultural diffusion and borrowing."

However, in an interview later that day, Merle's interpretation differs from mine:

> Merle: Now you take Sherman's answer today when he was talking about food that his family liked. He saw the pictures of Chinese food on the chart and he jumped to the conclusion that it was the Chinese family who would eat it. Then he tried to say 'Japan family' instead. But the idea that the French family might like Chinese food just didn't occur to him. This seemed strange to him.
>
> IR: So the objective that we borrow and adapt ideas and ways of doing things, including the foods we eat--cultural borrowing and diffusion--was not achieved by him?
>
> Merle: Yes, they're so egocentric! It's what their family eats that is important. Everything else is strange.

During the listening activity, there is an inconsistency in rule enforcement. Faye is sent back to her desk because she has not followed the rule about "pillows for sitting." Yet Katherine, after I had motioned to her to sit up, remains lying down, saying, "I'm tired, I want to go home." Merle ignores her behavior and that of Elmer who stretches out full-length across his large pillow throughout most of the activity.

The final story on the tape is played, the study print is examined, and the food preferences of the last family are discussed. Then Merle distributes the group charts to the new group leaders who then lead their groups all over the room, looking for an "ideal" spot.

Group 5, led by Charlie, comes to the back. Charlie immediately asks me what they are supposed to do. Merle tells the group leaders to send someone to the front to pick up the study prints showing the families eating. As nearly as I can reconstruct Merle's instructions, this time they are to draw a picture of what they had found out about the food or foods that their group family likes to eat. This information is to go in the second column, to the right of the "What We Think" column used for recording hypotheses. However, the wavy lines that Merle had drawn hastily down the middle of each chart are not too clear and drawings tend to spill over into the other column. There is a lesson here for a developer: "Leave plenty of room, for their printing and drawing are both LARGE."

In Group 5, I try to keep the group's attention focused on the task, but the leader, Charlie, starts playing with a lipstick which he soon has smeared all over himself, then he passes it on to the other boys in the group who find this vastly more interesting than working. Nevertheless, once I manage to confiscate the lipstick, the group sets to work, drawing the foods with gusto: Charlie decides to draw salad, David draws big, fat "pillow perohe," Rosie draws a large platter of bright green cabbage rolls, and Katherine draws a bowl of steaming red borscht soup. I wonder where they will find room for the rest of the drawings on other days since they seem to have exhausted the available space on the chart.

By 3:10 P.M. the social studies period is over because it is time to distribute the stars, Helping Hands, and Good Guy Badges at the end of the week. I am informed that the children will come to me to count their stars while Merle takes the people who are not getting any Good Guy Badges out into the hallway for a "talk." I wonder at this time how she manages when I am not there, for with the two of us working almost constantly we are often running out of time.

Then, it is "clean up time" and there is much to-ing and fro-ing as people rush about picking up, walking, visiting, and showing off their stars.

Suddenly, there is a piercing, blood-curdling scream in the cloakroom, a sound that rises above the noise in the room, cutting through it like a knife. Jennifer, her red face contorted with rage, stomps into the cloakroom and then, skrieking, she marches down the aisle towards Merle who stands calmly watching her. With hands on her hips and her eyes streaming with tears, Jennifer continues to scream: "Give it back to me! Give it back to me!" Merle quietly reminds Jennifer of the rules about bringing something to school--"as long as it does not interfere with the work in the classroom."

"I want it now! I want it back!" Jennifer rages.

"No," says Merle impassively, "not until the end of the year. Then you can have your lipsmacker back." She resumes pinning the Good Guy Badges on to the children's coats. Jennifer stands for awhile, then swirling abruptly, she stomps back into the cloakroom where she continues to get dressed.

As I help Merle cut out more Good Guy Badges, she says, "I think I'll have to change my Friday routine a bit. Next week there is no class on Friday because of the Convention, but the week after, I think I'll have them clean up before recess." In an undertone, she adds, "I also think I'll ask them to take their pillows home."

When the children are all gone, with the exception of Carol who, lingering, is set to work piling up the pillows, Doug enters the room, crying. He had been in a fight in the washroom where "they started to beat me up, they cut my lip." Merle leads him out of the room, saying "We were going to have a talk anyway, and I was just about to phone your mother."

TGIF. Thank God it's Friday. I go home.

February 25, 1980

My favorite food. Each week begins with new hopes and new sets of expectations. I arrive early in the afternoon, determined to arrange for some interviews. I'd like another interview with the principal. Then, the vice-principal, resource room teacher, and head custodian seem like other potential informants. The principal is busy in his office, "preparing for PD day," but the secretary says the head custodian is not too busy at this time of the day. Since he happens to be passing the office, I end up having an impromptu interview with him. Mr. Sloan fills me in on the structural features of the school ("easy to keep clean, not too many carpets"), the school atmosphere ("very friendly"), and school-community relations from the perspective of a long-time resident in the community ("little or no vandalism").

Later, in the office, I spot the resource room teacher and begin negotiating with her for an interview. However, unlike Mr. Sloan, who expressed no objection to being taped, she indicates a preference for not having the interview taped. I tell her that I am interested in learning how referrals are made, what tests are used, and how the children are selected for resource room attention. These are all topics which had been touched on by the four grade one teachers, the resource room teacher, and the school principal during the noon-hour meeting which

I had attended one day.

During recess, I sit in the staff room, enjoying the "joke board." The current theme is "surplus teachers," no laughing matter, but a type of gallows humor to release tension in a stressful situation. Last week some wag had started a list of words to describe "surplus." On the board it says: "Surplus means:

> extraordinary
> sexy
> . . . . . .
> . . . . . .
> 'always having to say good-bye'
> super-fluous"

Today's contribution is a collage picture of a woman, made up of surplus parts, and on top of the incongruous heap someone has pasted Merle's head. So Merle, on top of all her problems, is also a surplus teacher whose next year's assignment is uncertain, if I understand the term correctly.

After recess, I head for the classroom and sit down at my usual place. Merle comes over to me and whispers that today, the music teacher will be teaching the music lesson in the grade one classroom. Maybe that will improve their behavior. When I ask if I should leave, Merle says I don't have to, but perhaps I should check with the music teacher. The music teacher says she doesn't mind if I stay.

I remain in the room and observe a music lesson taught by an energetic, enthusiastic, competent teacher who, from her conversation with me in the staff room, likes to do things on time and seems well-prepared and organized. The lesson begins on a high key and slides down the scale of disaster. The children virtually "gang up" on her and the "ripple effect" destroys what looks like a well-thought out lesson.

I leave the room to prevent any further embarrassment. If this is how they behave each time, no wonder she complains and tries all kinds of Glasser techniques!

I have a "chat" with Sherman in the hallway, where he informs me that he likes kindergarten better because "it is funner, and there are toys to play with." In the staff room, I tell Merle the children have misbehaved but I am sure she'll hear more about it from the music teacher. Merle looks crestfallen. "I had a talk with them earlier in the day and they all seemed so serious about trying harder for her." I tell her I also had experienced similar problems "leading" them to and from some of the library periods where I had tried to help.

When I enter the room again after recess, the class is very still. Merle, perched on the stool, is expressing her disappointment in their behavior. Speaking in a firm voice, she announces that in today's social studies class, they will remain seated in their desks. She calls the group leaders from last day to come up to the front and asks them to describe to the class what their group had drawn about "what we thought" the foods were and "what we found out" the foods were for their group family.

The review proves interesting since it displays the variety of interpretations of the assignment and the ability to recall and to explain to others what had happened during the group activity as seen through the products displayed. After watching and listening, I conclude that the space allotment is too small and the instructions too complex to be effectively implemented by such young children. Although I find the drawings and general appearance of the charts very sloppy, Merle seems pleased with the results and compliments the children highly on their work.

After the charting review is completed, Merle gives out duplicated copies of Student Master No. 11 from Activity 1 in the Research portion of the unit. They are instructed to draw their own favorite foods on the plate provided. Before the drawing, however, Merle conducts a class discussion of favorite foods. Terri, of Scandinavian background, loves "polt," which she describes as a sort of potato dish. Sherman's favorite is chicken and chips. Roddy likes perogies and bananas and "that stuff in a can" (fruit cocktail), and Dick likes "cake with cherries on it."

While the discussion goes on, David tries to attract Merle's attention. He snaps his fingers repeatedly and waves his hand, and soon Katherine, who is watching him closely, is also snapping her fingers. Merle ignores both of them as she cautions the children to be extra careful in their drawing because these are going into their family booklets. Then, she brings out another set of student masters-- a letter to the parents about the family's favorite recipe (Student Master No. 12 in the kit). This brings "ooh's and ah's" from the children, and smiles as they exchange significant glances upon hearing that a cookbook will be compiled from these recipes which they then can take home. Food is a favorite topic in grade one, I can tell.

As they draw their favorite foods, I walk about the room and discuss their work with them. The range of artistic ability is astonishing. Some pictures are mere scribbles--"I'm finished!"--while others are first thought out, then carefully sketched and colored. While they work, Merle goes out and returns with more letters to take home about the school holidays that week during the teachers' convention.

After school, Merle and I are going to have our often-postponed interview at last. However, the music teacher seems anxious to discuss with Merle what had developed in the lesson. She says she just doesn't know what went wrong, and when I apologize for perhaps contributing to the problem by remaining the classroom, Merle hastily interjects that she doesn't think so, "because the children hardly notice you when you're in the room." They discuss possible alternatives. Merle suggests that perhaps she should lead them to and from music to eliminate the hallway problem. Although they had thought teaching them in their own classroom would help, Merle says, laughing, "Maybe, after all those classroom meetings, they now know how to behave in the hall, but not how to behave when they have music in their own room--something new always seems to do something to them." The music teacher is particularly concerned that with all these delays they will not be ready for the coming spring concert. Merle suggests enlisting the aid of the parents in some way.

After the music teacher leaves, Merle and I move to the staff room for an interview-conversation that lasts from 4:00 P.M. until 4:45 P.M. The topics discussed are: how she perceived the materials so far, what expectations she thought the developers had about teacher preparation time, her own feelings of preparedness, changes in format she would suggest, factors taken into account in her own planning, and her perceptions of group work and decision making.

Merle's responses during the interview can be summed up as follows:

- developers expected more teacher time would be spent in lesson preparation than she had been spending; her priorities lay with reading and math, so she was spending less than a half hour a week on social studies preparation, which was not enough;
- activities varied so much;
- there was so much diversity within an activity; each activity seemed to be multiple things; it seemed so unconnected, disjointed in some activities;

- she liked the idea of integration of social studies with a language arts base;
- when planning, she considered these factors important: how long they can sit still ("balance between sitting and doing is good in the kit"), will it be possible to explain it to them (complexity), and how long will it take (time);
- an activity in the kit was like a "mini-unit" of things related by a topic or theme;
- an "activity" could vary in length and time; it could take several lessons to complete or it could be done in one lesson;
- the puppet was motivating; "better than just sitting and listening;"
- she had changed the order of things; she did something first, then asked, did it work?
- although they were novices at group work, she was "feeling good about group work;" but
- she was apprehensive about decision making with this class.

February 26, 1980

Classroom smorgasbord. Timing my arrival for afternoon recess, I find Merle in the staff room. She is sitting at the table, reading the Kanata Kit 1 guide. Looking across the table at her, I think of how much she reminds me of the Ancient Mariner with the albatross (Kanata Kit) around her neck. Soon she engages me in conversation:

> "I'm afraid it's going to be a short social studies lesson today. About fifteen minutes, then I'll let them do cubbyhole work the rest of the time before library. It's been a tension-filled day." When I say nothing, she continues, "I think we'll just talk about the different families and what they like to eat and about their families' favorite foods."
>
> After looking over Activity 2 in Part II, she says, "I just don't know about this ethnic food and how far to go with it. This stuff seems too complex for them. Is this meant to be optional? I think I'll just skip it."

I ask her what she thinks of my idea that I could perhaps get the children's views on social studies by talking to them, one or two at a time, maybe during the independent activities period while she works with the language arts group. I am interested in asking them about how they see their day at school, how they experience time, and what they call the different things they do at school and when they do them. Merle says that she tries not to call it social studies -- "I don't specify by name, although I do say 'Phonics' and I notice they have a hard time seeing that 'Geometry' is really 'Math.'"

However, when I realize such plans call for full-day observations, since the independent study periods are in the morning, I drop the idea. It would have been too exhausting. I am tired doing just half-days. Keeping up with field notes is another matter.

In the classroom, Dick is chasing the girls in the cloakroom, forcing his attentions on them by trying to kiss them as they run about and squeal. Doug and Charlie are sent to the principal's office for some misdemeanor. Merle brings out the set of prints showing the different families eating. Then she slowly reviews the "rules for carpet work behavior." Today, she announces, they will sit in a circle on the carpet, just as they do in classroom meetings. They will not lie on the carpet. They will raise their hands when they have something to say. They will take turns speaking and listening. Those who do not behave will have to put their hands down on their desks.

Sitting cross-legged on the carpet, Merle places the study prints face up in the centre and invites the children to join her in a circle for a discussion about the pictures. First, they will look at a picture. Next, they will raise their hand if they know the name of the food. Then, when called upon, they will tell the class the name of the food. The children, once seated on the carpet, gaze intently at the pictures, then raise their hands enthusiastically. One by one, Merle calls on individual children, proceeding around the circle in a clock-wise direction. About half-way around the circle, Merle uses a different tactic. In a pseudo-challenging voice, she declares, "I bet I know something you don't know! My family likes a food that is very different from the kinds of foods we've been talking about--like milk, and corn, and eggs. My family likes. . .curried vegetables. I'll bet nobody else's family likes that." The children take up the challenge and excitedly declare that their family, too, likes curried vegetables! Quickly, Merle moves in with "Let's talk about foods like that that may be special to your family because they are different." The discussion just takes off! It goes from perogies, to polt, to a German food with mushrooms in it, to Chinese food, to tacos, Greek food, kim chee, lasagna, spaghetti, and so on--all skillfully engineered by Merle. How marvelous I think! She's managed to get the concept of ethnic food across to them as "something special because it's different!"

Suddenly, Merle produces a globe and, using the foods named or described by the children, she traces their countries of origin on the globe, as the children watch with interest. "Nearly everybody in this room eats foods that come from different parts of the world," Merle states as she tries to get them to generalize about the foods eaten by Canadian families. She relates the generalization to the earlier hypothesis-question: "Do all Canadian families like the same food?" "No!" the children say emphatically. "Do they like different foods?" "Yes!" She continues in this fashion: "Do Chinese families just like Chinese food?" "No!" says the children. "Do other people like eating Chinese food?" "Yes!" they respond vigorously. Then, Merle says:

> "When people came to Canada from many different countries, they liked to eat certain foods. But they didn't just eat these special foods all the time. After awhile, they met other people from other countries and they learned about other kinds of foods. So, Canadian families, like your

family, like to eat many different kinds of foods.
They are all good foods."

By this time, the children are getting restless, just sitting on the carpet. Some, like David, are already in their desks. David, sent to his desk, does not stay there very long. He gets up, chooses a game from the cupboard, and as he plays with it on the floor, he sings to himself.

At 2:50 P.M. Merle tells them they can do "cubbyhole work" until it is time for the library. "Goodie!" and they rush off, choosing different games. Some choose an individual activity; others look for partners to play with them. They scatter throughout the room. Not all are engaged in constructive activities or play. Roddy and Charlie soon throw leggo pieces around the room until I intervene and draw Charlie's attention to the globe. He can find North America on it and I am about to ask him if he knows where Greece is when Judy interrupts and insists on reading her book to me.

When Merle comes by, I tell her I am surprised at the classroom smorgasbord she had unearthed through her excellent discussion techniques. She laughs, "I was surprised, too, by their answers. Of course, if you 'bet them they don't' something, they'll argue that they do, too." Then she shows me a phonics book she had compiled and distributed just that morning--some ninety pages--for extra independent activities, and here Judy had just finished it and handed it in for marking!

During the library period, Dick, who had been most uncooperative all afternoon, even to the point of refusing to go to the library at first, drops into my lap as I sit in the story circle. He puts his head against my chest and begins making loud animal noises. Soon quiet

Sheila inches her way across the carpet and snuggles close to me.

After library period is over, the remaining time before dismissal is spent doing cubbyhole work and cleaning up. At 3.20 P.M. it is star-counting time--a very short week, so Merle is able to dispense Good Guy badges with gay abandon, to the delight of Charlie, Doug, and David who beam with pleasure. From my notes, this is how Charlie reacts when he gets a badge:

> Charlie comes rushing back to this desk, his eyes big and round and a wide grin on his face. Raising his arms above his head like a prize fighter who has just scored a TKO, he announces, "I got a badge! She gave me a badge!" He can hardly contain his glee.

David and Doug, on the other hand, pretend it doesn't matter, but they put it on the desk and just look at it.

Feeling less exhausted somehow at the end of what I feel has been a "good" social studies lesson and a relatively peaceful afternoon, I stay on in the staff room, sitting across from where Merle marks and marks and marks. From time to time she stops and talks. During the course of our conversations we discuss prescribed resources in language arts and her feelings about that. Then, I work the conversation around to prescription in social studies. As far as centralized Departmental directives are concerned, she can see their utility in smaller systems where standards would be difficult to maintain with perhaps limited resources, but in larger systems, there is no need for such prescriptiveness. "I get the feeling," she says, "that some of those people are 'out of touch' with the classrooms, with what is really happening." When I begin to talk about the prescribed social studies curriculum and the prescribed and recommended resources, she seems less interested and returns to her marking, saying, "Well, in my opinion, we are supposed to be professionals. We should be allowed more flexibility. More should be left up to the teacher."

Before leaving the school, I try once more to see the principal, along with about four other people who have been waiting. I would like to attend the PD meeting, which is supposed to involve school-based budgetting. However, when I finally get his ear, he looks tired and sounds relieved when I say, "Perhaps it's an in-house meeting and I'd better not attend." "Yeah," he says. "That's what it is--an in-house meeting."

March 3, 1980

Performing for the principal. After a welcome break for the teachers' convention, I am ready for a half-day's observation once again. Having spotted Merle in the audience at a special education session at the convention, I ask her in the staff room if she has managed "to tame her tigers in the classroom," that morning. Instead of going directly to the classroom, I decide to spend some time on documentary analysis pertaining to in-service and communications activities surrounding new materials such as the Kanata Kits.

At recess, I go into the classroom where I indicate to Merle that I have brought another cassette player for her to use so that I can do some recording, if feasible, during the lesson. After setting up the next tape cassette for Merle, I return to the staff room until recess is over. Although they have music the first period after recess, I decide to go to the classroom. Dick is being his amorous self again, chasing all the girls and handling them roughly. Soon the music teacher appears in the doorway, but Merle appeals to her to wait until after the class has sung the "Birthday Song" for Doug who sits proudly in the place of honor on the step stool. As soon as they finish singing and Doug has shown off his elaborate mechanical toy, the principal appears in the classroom.

He smiles. "So this is where all the action is!" Merle picks up her books and goes out the door for her 'prep' period. The room grows unusually silent. Eyes stare up at the smiling, curly-haired principal who then says to them, with a long, sad face, that he has heard that some people are misbehaving during the music period. He stresses that he is referring "to some people, who know who they are without having to be named." He wonders if they have thought about how their behavior affects others, including their music teacher. He hopes that they will reconsider what they are doing, that they will think about how disrupting it is to others, and that they will make an effort to change their behavior. If not, they can expect certain consequences. He warns the class that those misbehaving--talking, laughing, making others laugh, and so on--will have to be removed from the music program. He might even have to phone their parents and discuss their behavior with them. If such behavior keeps on, he says, they will have to go to the office and sit on the "orange bench." They will have to wait until he can have a "talk" with them. He extracts a promise from the class that they will try harder to behave during music. With that reminder, he leaves the room.

As he talks to the class, I watch how "some of those people who don't have to be named" behave. Dick sits quietly, playing with his glasses--no mews, no scowls, no animal noises. Charlie sits frozen like a statue in his desk, not turning once. David picks up a book and reads it all the while, vocalizing softly as he turns the pages. Only Carol seems in character, raising her hand and, when asked if she has a question, she grins and says, "No."

The music teacher lines them up at the door, precious minutes already lost from the music period. The first two rows line up quietly, still under the spell of the principal's little "talk" with them, but as row 3 joins the line up, chattering begins. David breaks his silence with a "Hey, Elmer, wait for me!" but his pal refuses to break ranks and the children file out of the room. That's when David decides to liven things up a bit. Grabbing Charlie's toque, he flings it on to the teacher's desk, then he grabs Matt's toque and throws it on the floor. Charlie, the fighter, lunges at David who neatly side-steps. Matt looks on helplessly, then stoops to pick up his toque, only to have David pounce on him in another attempt to snatch his toque. I move quickly and David darts out the door.

In the staff room, Merle, sitting at the table with the open Kanata Kit 1 teacher's guide before her, asks, "How did it go?" "He gave them a pep talk," I reply. "How did they behave?" she asks. "As quiet as church mice," I say, laughing. "David was particularly impressive, sitting there so studiously with his nose inside a book." "How did Dick behave?" she wants to know. "He was very quiet, no sounds, just played with his glasses. But the minute the principal left and the music teacher called his row to line up, he just sat. When she invited him by name, he said 'No, I don't wanna.' However, a few minutes later, he got up and joined the end of the line." "So Dick put on an act for the principal. I wish that Peter could see how he usually behaves. He just has no idea at all," sighs Merle, as she returns to her reading. I go back to the classroom and write more field notes.

When the class returns from music, Merle asks them to clean up around their desks. Going to the Master Chart, she darkens the space around the word "Home" with a felt pen and crayons, then asks if anyone knows what they will be learning about in their groups today. When Trish answers correctly, Merle goes on to explain that they will be playing a "guessing game" today while seated at their desks. With the teacher's guide open in her lap, Merle sits on the stool and tells the children to close their eyes and to imagine the kind of home their family lives in. [I have noted this confusion of the phrase "your family" and "the family you are studying."] Meaning the "Canadian family" assigned to their group, the children are to imagine how many people are in the family, how big their house is, what kind of a house or home it is, whether it has a yard, what it looks like, the number of rooms it has, and so on.

Merle then proceeds to extend the concept of rooms in a house by getting the children to name the different kinds of rooms as she lists them on the board. The hands wave furiously as most of the children want to take part in the discussion.

Moving to the Master Chart, Merle begins explaining what the work assignment is for the groups when Dick begins pummeling Adam who sits behind him. "Dick!" says Merle sternly, "that's a star." "I don't care," Dick mumbles as the talk escalates in the room. Merle continues the lesson, posing two "little questions" about homes: "What does the house look like?" "What is the family's favorite room?"

The instructions are that someone in the group will draw the house, then after a discussion on favorite rooms, the group will decide which room is that family's favorite place to gather. Then, they will find the word on the board and print it on the chart. As she distributes the group charts, she names the group leaders. However, absentees complicate the process, so some arguing ensues. With "exactly six minutes to do the group work," the groups disperse.

This time I resolve to observe another group, avoiding Group 5 which is veering in my direction. I decide to observe Group 1 where Judy is the leader. Clutching her crayons, Judy appeals to me, "What do we have to do?" Fortunately, Sheila remembers the first task. But choosing someone to do the job is still difficult for them. Finally, Judy chooses Sherman to draw the house. His inverted-V schema brings protests from the group, who then add more details and another storey. While Sherman draws the house, I ask the others to discuss what they think the family's favorite room might be. It is a tie between living-room and familyroom. Judy selects Sheila to print "familyroom". Sheila copies it off a sheet of paper where I have printed it for her, just as the bell goes and the group disbands. As I walk around the room after school, picking up charts and crayons, I realize that as a developer I had not anticipated the variety of individual responses, nor had I considered how difficult it is for them to decide or choose one from a number of alternatives.

Merle's hands are full with the usual laggards who need help in order not to miss the bus. Doug kneels at the bench in the cloakroom, playing with his new toy. "I'm only seven, you know. My grandmother says I'm too big for my age," he tells me. "You're just right, I think, for you," I reply, as I give him a hug and move him toward his coat.

Matt comes rushing back, crying, "I've lost my mitts and I'll miss the bus!" Merle dashes out into the hallway. "They're here!" she says as Matt rushes past. She comes toward me and says, "In that talk about 'tigers in the classroom,' that speaker did not have to contend with buses."

March 4, 1980

"I wonder if she'll remember me". Being there when the children return from recess is always interesting and full of action. Today, Doug complains that David had punched him in the stomach, Betty rushes up and gives me a booklet with a heart drawn on every page, Carol hugs me and says, "I missed you," and Dick chases the girls around the cloakroom. When Merle enters the room, she has a little "talk" with Doug and David at the door, while the rest of the children clean up around their desks.

The social studies lesson begins with a quick review of the work they had done the previous day. As Merle prepares them to do research by listening to the tape and observing the study print, David asks me to help him with a phonic exercise. He seems to get so much satisfaction from completing a job, that I decide to help him as quietly as I can while Merle proceeds with the instructions for the social studies activity. The children are allowed to choose between sitting in their desks or on the carpet as they listen to the tape.

The tape is played in segments. Beginning with the first family, the Morins, Merle shows the study print and manipulates the hand puppet as the tape plays. Following each portion, she leads a discussion to recall the context pertaining to the structural features and the family's favorite room. Through questioning, the children are able to recall specific details from the tape, surprising both Merle and me. She proceeds in this manner through the tape until all five families' homes are described.

However, shortly after the session begins, a stranger comes into the classroom and asks if he can visit in the room. It is Elmer's father. His presence causes a stir and loss of attention among several of the children who keep stealing glances at him.

Faye and Matt are my partners on the way to the library that day. Faye is a frisky little elfin creature who takes private gymnastic lessons. She finds it very hard to remain still for any protracted length of time. Several times during the trip down the long hallway, I have to warn her not to jump about and shout. In the library, Doug perches himself on Elmer's father's lap as we listen to the story. Dick, who comes in later, begins to handle the individual viewers in the carrels, until David calls out, "Teacher, look what Dick is doing." Merle grasps Dick's hand and holds it firmly for the rest of the story time while Dick pouts and mutters, "It's not fair, it's not fair."

When Charlie, who is my unusually quiet partner, and I enter the room after library, the children are cleaning up and placing worksheets, papers, and booklets into large brown paper bags to take home. Dismissal is the usual round of missing mitts or lunch kits. Faye dawdles so I help get her organized. She has at least four different scarves at school which she tries to cram into one small bag. Mr. Sloan is yelling his "Hurry up! you'll miss the bus!" warning in the hallway.

Merle and I had agreed to meet for another interview after school, so I wait for her in the classroom. Dick sits at his desk, alternately sighing and looking in my direction. Finally, he closes his book, puts it inside his desk, and mumbles, "Oh, well. . . might as well. . ."

As he goes past the table, he fingers the buttons on my tape recorder. "Are you taping what we done?" he asks. "Sometimes," I reply. "Are you taping now?" he asks. I try to send him off, but he lingers, saying, "Can you tape me now?" "Would you like me to?" I ask him. His facial expression changes. Gone is the pouty look. His eyes are alive with interest. "Sure!" he says. "I'll tell a story."

I attach the microphone and show him how to speak naturally into it. He decides to recite the story of "The Three Little Pigs." Although somewhat breathless, he tells the story in sequence with some expression as well. When I play it back, he listens closely with a smile on his face. Merle enters and tells him not to bother me.

"She taped me!" Dick announces to her. "I think I'll tell the story of "Red Hiding Hood" next," he says. "Right now I have a meeting," I tell him, "so you'd better get dressed and go home."

In the corridor he says to Merle, "Well, I wonder if when she listens to that tape she'll remember me." When Merle tells me this, I am stunned. What did he mean? Was he that seriously ill? Or did he mean when I stopped coming to the school?

Merle and I hold our second focused interview in the classroom. As I set the tape recorder up again, Merle says, "That's what I should be doing, putting them on tape. . . I always meant to do it, but somehow I haven't got around to it." I murmur, "You've never got the time, you're so busy chasing after them."

"If only there weren't so many of them needing you," she says, sadly. "If there were only one, I think I could handle it, but somehow with so many all at once. . ."

I ask her how these children got into her room. "Was it by assignment or by selection?" She shrugs, "No, it was just random. It just happened that way. Mind you, my room isn't the only one with problems. It's the area." I remembered that the principal had said much the same in my interview with him.

"How many repeaters did you say you have?" I ask.

"Three now--David, Jennifer, and Dick--I had four, but Ralph moved away."

"Were any of them in your room before?"

"Jennifer is the only one who was in this school last year. David transferred in late. He certainly resented coming to this school. He still does, I think. I hear him say, 'That's not the way we did it in my school.' And he told me more than once, 'You're not my teacher. I don't have to listen to you.'"

We begin the interview at 4:15 P.M. and it lasts until 4:45 P.M. During the interview, a female custodian comes in to clean up and some of the transcript is inaudible because of the banging and scraping. After the taping, we continue talking about the kit. Merle likes the idea of having different family members describe different aspects of family life, but she thinks there's too much content on the tapes and it is presented a little too fast for them to follow at times. Nevertheless, she expresses her surprise at how much of the information about the families they understand. "If you had asked me before using it, I would have said, 'No, they can't handle it.' But they can and I am surprised."

During the interview, Merle is asked what her perceptions of the intentions of the Kanata Kit materials are.

According to Merle:

- its intention is multi-cultural;
- it emphasizes the differences rather than the similarities;

similarities are implicit;

- by going through the materials, the students should be gaining a respect for other people although they are different or because they are different;
- by going through the materials, the students can have more respect for themselves, if their own families are different;
- accepting other people's differences is accepting your own;
- it's very easy to breakdown a group of people by color, and separate them into groups by color or by race, those obvious kinds of things; but I think the way this is done with the distinctly different cultural things. . . the differences are as great as between anything that involves a physical appearance or difference;
- it's a backwards kind of thing from what I'm used to. . . 'Underneath the skin we're all the same' . . . It's not that, it's. . . 'Here are these people. They're all very different! . .;
- it seems that what they are saying is that each of these cultures is very, very distinctly different and geography, race, color, all those things are irrelevant. It's people and cultures who are different and we value them because they are different;
- seven, eight, and nine year olds, instead of five, six, seven year olds, who are looking at the same materials, would get more out of this; they'd be able to abstract more;
- I'm not a great believer in the necessity for social studies at the early grades;
- I'm watching these kids and I'm thinking. . . they do seem to be getting something out of it, I don't have enough faith, they do seem to be getting more out of it than I would have expected;
- I'd like to think that when we got through with it, that it made a difference in their feelings about themselves and their families, and their feelings about people living across the street from them. . . especially if they do speak another language; and
- I like the diversity, but I don't know whether the country will survive with that much diversity over that much area.

In answer to a direct question as to whether the materials treat the issue of multiculturalism as an open or closed issue, Merle replies, "Oh, it's closed. . . the decision has been made that multiculturalism is a 'good' thing [and if some choose the position that all Canadian families should be the same], they're going to be engineered out of it. . . I don't think that that option will be left open to them."

March 5, 1980

This is the house that I made. Betty has started something with her book of hearts, for today I get a flurry of love letters from Betty, Trish, and Carol as soon as I enter the room. After the classroom has been cleaned up, Merle reads to the children the action poem "This is the House That I Built" on Student Master No. 13 in Activity 3. The children enjoy participating in the action sequences and copies of the poem go into their Family booklets. The children are encouraged to imagine the kind of house they would build and to describe its features to the rest of the class.

Then Merle selects a member from each group to hold up the study print of the house of the family being studied by each group. A lengthy class discussion follows as the structural features of each house are identified, described, and compared with the other houses. This activity is intended to prepare them for the group chart activity where they will draw a picture of the family's house. To prepare them for the second task in group work that day, Merle has the different groups recall the favorite room of each family as mentioned on the tape they had listened to the previous day. As each group recalls the favorite room, Merle prints the name of the room on the chalkboard. In the group activity, someone will be chosen to draw the house, and another person will be chosen to print the name of the favorite room on the chart.

During this activity, I had intended to tape record the entire lesson. However, the constant shifting of locale and the noise level make it difficult to obtain a recording that is audible. The group charting activity is particularly noisy. The tape recorder proves to be a distraction for many of the chidren. However, my running notes indicate that Merle is beginning to suggest bases for deciding whom to choose to do the work in the group.

According to Merle:

> Think before you start, before you start choosing people. Think about who has been doing a lot in your group. And somebody who hasn't done much. Ask them to do something, so they'll feel good. So we'll all feel better when we get to do our part. Remember to ask people for their ideas.

The last part of the activity is spent drawing their own home on a street of houses that forms a wall frieze. Before the children start drawing, Merle traces a long horizontal line down the middle of a long strip of white paper. "This," she informs them, "will be like a street with a row of houses on each side." They are to take positions along the two long edges of the paper and with their crayons they are to draw their own house.

This becomes a very successful activity--the room is a beehive of buzzing, absorbed workers. When the principal arrives to deliver a short message about how pleased he is to hear that their behavior has improved in music class, most of the children barely look up. The quality of the drawings varies with the differing talents.

March 7, 1980

Describing my house. As Merle and I enter the classroom together, we come upon a battle scene. The children are throwing mitts and other clothing all over the room. This leads to a "classroom talk" by Merle in which the rules for classroom behavior are reviewed. Those children who have not finished drawing their house on the wall frieze from the previous day are given more time to complete their sketches, while the rest of the class have cubbyhole work.

At 2:30 P.M. the wall frieze has been completed and the children gather around the edges and take turns talking about their houses. After each person describes her or his house, someone in the group is allowed to ask that person one question about the house. The descriptions vary almost as much as the illustrations. Some are more vivid and detailed than others. Although most of the questions tend to focus on the size of the building, several questions deal with the technique of perspective which two people have tried to show in their drawings. Although some misbehavior occurs among those who find it difficult to wait and sit still, overall, the experience of sharing is educationally sound.

Because problems of crowding had occurred as some children took up a large amount of space, Merle conducts an interesting problem-solving discussion after the descriptive sharing. She asks the children, "If we were to do such an activity again, how could we go about it so that everybody had enough space?" The children's solutions included: "Making the houses small;" "Using longer paper;" "Pushing outwards;" "Not adding any other details like a yard, car, fence and so on;" "Cutting the paper into equal size and giving one piece to each;"and "Measuring."

The second problem-solving discussion focuses on deciding where to display the wall frieze. The children suggest various locations and the advantages and disadvantages of each location are discussed. This represents a meaningful and serious problem for these children who participate whole-heartedly in the problem-resolution discussion.

In the short time remaining, Merle begins yet another activity. She starts talking about making a map of the classroom. Placing a large sheet of black construction paper on the flannel board, she asks specific questions about the structural features of the classroom. After the children have determined that there are four walls or sides in the classroom, she indicates that the colored paper can be a "pretend" floor with the sides much like the classroom. She calls on individual children to show on the flannel board where the windows would be, using smaller strips of paper for each set of windows.

The rest of the time is taken up with Good Guy Badges and Helping Hands distribution.

After school, Merle has a "talk" with David about kicking on the playground.

March 11, 1980

Mapping the classroom. The classroom has been transformed since my last visit. Not only has it been tidied up, but the teacher's desk has been cleared and is now located in one corner of the back of the classroom. The room seems more spacious and cheerful. A new student teacher is sitting at one of the tables at the back when I enter.

Merle continues the classroom mapping exercise that had been started in the last social studies period. The map contains windows and a carpeted area. The children are asked to look about the room and to suggest other structural features which can be included on the map. First, cloakroom walls are added, then octagonal tables, work tables, and the teacher's desk. Small pieces of paper, representing the students' desks, are arranged on the flannel board by different students. Once the first row of desks is located, each child picks up a square representing her or his desk and places it in the correct location on the floor map. The children become very excited and involved. When half the rows are completed, Merle changes to a different tactic that is less time-consuming. She puts up the remaining desks, then asks the children to come up and find their desk on the map. This version of mapping also is enjoyed by the children who seem to have no difficulty locating their desks.

Another mapping skill developed during the exercise involves directions.

> "Point to the north wall," says Merle. Most of the children, except Terri, point to the east wall. Merle continues. "Where would I put the letter N for north on the map?" She calls on Sheila who comes up and points to the bottom of the map. "Right," says Merle, printing 'N' along the bottom of the map. "I want to put 'S' for south on the map. Where should I put it?" she asks. With the whole class waving hands, she chooses Roddy to show where 'S' would go on the map. He places it at the top of the map. "Where should I put 'E' for east?" is followed by Jennifer pointing to the east wall of the classroom and then indicating the left side of the paper on the map. Similarly, Rosie points to the west wall and indicates that the letter 'W' should go on the right side of the paper.

This concludes the mapping exercise just in time before the children have to leave for the library.

March 12, 1980

Models and mapping. When I arrive in the staff room, I see Merle seated at the table reading the Kanata Kit 1 teacher's guide. This time I share my "Ancient Mariner and the albatross image" with her. She looks startled, then she laughs!

> "Oh, no, I don't think of it as an albatross at all now," she says. "In fact, I've done a complete turn around in my thinking. I started out very negative. At first, I thought, they can't do this work, it's impossible. Now I am amazed at what they can do. And the possibilities in the kit. It's really interesting. I guess when I get enthused, they get enthused."

At this point I notice that she has assembled the model furniture from the kit. She says it had taken about fifteen minutes.

After recess, when we return to the classroom, Merle informs the children that they first must finish the March calendar activity that they had started earlier. Much like the February calendar observation, the children are expected to print the numbers for the days of the month, the name of the month and year, and then draw a picture for the March page. Some remain at their desks, others lie on the carpet near the laminated calendar in the corner of the room. Suddenly I notice that David is attracting a great deal of attention around his desk. He is rubbing a pencil on a sheet of paper and then applying it to his eye. When he removes the paper, a "black eye" remains. His admirers soon forget the March calendar activity.

As I circulate throughout the room and assist various students, I notice that most of the students are producing very sloppy work. My concern for standards can be seen in this passage from my field notes:

> On the carpet I notice that Betty, one of the more able students, has used mixed capitals and small letters in the word MaRcH. I suggest that she use a capital M only at the beginning of the word and small letters for the rest. When one of the girls corrects Carol's sloppily printed capital H (overly long cross bar) and reminds her to print the word "just like the way Miss Johnson printed hers on the calendar," Carol, tossing her head, replies, "I don't care." I look at her and say, quietly, "Why don't you erase it, Carol, and do a good job, just as your teacher asked you to do it." She stares at me, a smile playing about her lips, but when I add, "When I taught grade one, I expected my students to do their best--always," I notice that she reaches over to get an eraser, then reprints the word correctly.

After the calendar activity comes a reading of the story of "The Three Little Pigs" from Sherman's book. When that is completed, Merle sends a student out to get the overhead projector. A brief discussion on the meaning of a model includes a definition of a model as "something small that looks like and can take the place of something that's big and it's not really that thing."

When Merle brings the assembled model furniture into the classroom, the children are surprised. Different pieces of furniture are held up and identified by the children, then the children come up by rows to look down on top of the model furniture. They become very excited. Jennifer receives a "bonus star" for remaining in her desk after her turn.

To develop some notion of proportion, Merle asks Rosie to count the number of steps it takes to walk across the room. As Rosie walks, the children count the steps in chorus. Then, placing the floor map of the classroom on the floor, Merle asks Rosie to count the number of steps needed to walk across it. The children discover that although the classroom is fifteen steps wide, the map of the classroom is only one step wide. As Merle directs a discussion on why maps and models are used, several girls in the desks at the back make "angel kisses" by dabbing glue on the palms of their hands. They are oblivious to the ongoing lesson. Meanwhile, Merle and the rest of the class are discussing possible places to display the classroom map.

A temporary hush falls over the room as Merle begins to set up the projector. Merle places the transparency showing the Morin livingroom map on the projector table. The children seem very quiet and attentive. This is something new. Some try to read the title at the bottom. After showing the difference between the "model" of the livingroom furniture and the "map" of the livingroom, Merle asks different children to identify the items of furniture on the map. Hands wave frantically. Voices grow more and more excited. Sherman, sent out of the room, slams the door. A few minutes later, as the exercise continues, Merle walks out into the hallway and mutters, "There is so much to learn, you can't learn it in the hallway."

After the furniture is identified, Merle asks further questions such as: "Where would be a good place to read?" "Where would be a good place to play a game?" She presses for reasons. Then the children describe how the livingroom map showing the furniture arrangement is like or different from their livingroom at home. Meanwhile, the "angel kissing" distraction continues at the back and more members are recruited. Erika, however, refuses to become involved in such antics, saying, "I think that's really dumb. You guys will just have to go and wash it off."

Next, the transparency of the Kato kitchen is placed on the projector table and the children begin to sound out the words in the title. When Merle tries to get them to tell her why the Kato kitchen rather than the livingroom is displayed, some children think it is "Because we already have a livingroom." When Merle asks, "Why is the kitchen especially important for the Kato family?" Betty answers, "Because it is the place to eat," and Jennifer answers, "To wash dishes." Others think the reasons are: "To cook," or "To watch TV," or "To eat and watch TV." Finally, with some prompting from Merle, Alice says, "Because they can rest there and be together in their favorite room." As with the livingroom map exercise, the different items of furniture are also identified, but this involves a more difficult task since many of the shapes are very similar. Nevertheless, the children have no difficulty grasping the idea that a "map is like looking down on top of something."

After reminding more children to bring in their family's favorite recipes, Merle leads a discussion about which room is the favorite room in their house. Then she reads the letter to the parents that is being sent home. It is Student Master No. 14 from Activity 4 on "mapping my family's favorite room." When the letter refers to geometric shapes representing furniture, Merle returns to the transparencies and has the children identify the shapes used. Most of the class remains very involved and enthused about the activity. Finally, Merle notices the "angel kissing" at the back. Annoyed, she says, "Wait until I'm finished speaking, girls, then I'll let you wash your hands."

The children are told that when they have mapped their favorite room at home with the help of their parents or older brothers and sisters, they are to bring these maps back to share with the class. When the lesson concludes, Merle seems very pleased with what has been accomplished. As she replaces the transparencies, she says to me, "My thinking has changed completely. I really like it. It's so reliable, you know exactly what to expect, what comes next. And it's all there--overheads, models, even letters to parents. I'm really impressed. I guess when I get enthusiastic about something, they do too. It shows."

After school, Dick tapes the story of "Little Red Riding Hood." His behavior during these taping sessions is extraordinary. Gone are all traces of the petulant, immature child.

March 14, 1980

The nicest place in the world. The action story, "The Nicest Place in the World," suggested as a follow-up activity in Activity 4, is expanded into a combined social studies-language arts integrated lesson. As Merle reads the story about a boy named Little Otto who meets many different animals in his search for the nicest place in the world, the children join in enthusiastically by supplying the appropriate animal and bird sounds. During the reading, Merle stops frequently and asks the children to shut their eyes and to imagine the scene which they then describe to the class. The following is an excerpt from the tape recorded transcript:

Merle: How many chicks do you see under her wing, Alice?
Alice: [eyes tightly closed] I see five.
Merle: You see five there. How many do you see Elmer?
Elmer: [voice muffled, counting] One, two, three.
Merle: What color is the hen that you see, Doug?
Doug: Um, red, and brown, and blue!
Merle: You see a blue hen? Have you ever seen a blue hen?
Doug: Uh huh, on a wing.
Merle: On the wing. Okay. What color is the hen that you see, Erika?
Erika: Yellow.
Merle: Yellow. What's in the background? What do you see in the background, behind the hen, Charlie?
Charlie: [turned around to David]. . . . [screws up eyes; David behind him, waves hand]
David: I know, teacher! [His eyes are very tightly closed.]
Merle: Katherine, what do you see behind the hen? What. . .
Katherine: [inaudible] Where?
Merle: Well, behind the hen here, what do you see behind, that way?
Katherine: [inaudible]
Merle: What else? Betty?
Betty: [eyes closed] A wall.
Merle: What color is the wall? . . . [waits] . . . Is there anything on the wall, Betty?
Betty: Flowers.
Merle: Flowers on the wall? What's on the wall in your, the picture in your mind, Elmer?
Elmer: I've got. . . after, I saw some eggs.
Merle: Eggs, then. What would be on the walls in, in the picture that you see, Alice?
Alice: A hen laying eggs.
Merle: Another hen laying eggs. . . Sssshhh! Put those counters away, boys [David has been playing with a counter. Trish is caressing a hugh, life-size rag doll.] Okay, let's go on.

These are some other examples:

Merle: Okay. How is Little Otto standing?. . . Alice?
Alice: [inaudible]. . . and his hand is like this [demonstrates].
Merle: Tell me how he's standing.
Alice: [inaudible]
Merle: And he's trying to reach a branch, standing like that. . . Does anybody have Little Otto standing a different way?
Voice: I know!
[Merle walks quickly to David's desk, takes his hand and brings him to the front of the room. She points to the carpet and David sits down. Charlie starts looking in David's desk.]
Merle: Betty, how do you think he's standing, trying to reach the branch. Show us how you think he's standing. The first branch . . .

. . . .

Merle: . . . . What's on the ground?
Betty: Grass.
Merle: Why isn't there snow on the ground?
Betty: 'Cause there's. . . [inaudible]. . . it's summer.
Merle: How do you know that, that it's not winter time? [Loud bang.] Elmer?
Elmer: 'Cause when it's winter time, birds leave their nests.
Merle: Well, robins do. They leave their nest and go somewhere else. But Mother Robin's there with her nest. It must not be winter time. On the ground is grass. Terri?
Terri: Um. . . there's apples, hanging down from the tree.
Merle: Apples?
Terri: Yeah, it's an apple tree.
Merle: It has apples in the tree. Okay. Does anybody else have a different kind of tree? What's your tree like, Dick?

At the conclusion of the story, the children are given pieces of paper and asked to draw a picture of some part of the story that they liked best. Merle stresses the importance of doing a careful, neat job of drawing and coloring, because "we're going to be putting these pictures up. If your parents come in to see me next week, they'll be looking for it, for yours."

As the children draw, I walk around the room. Dick tries to show Roddy behind him how to draw a person (Otto) facing the front. He gets excited as he draws first the leg, then moving up the torso, he goes under the armpit, along the arm, neck, head, and then down the other side. "It's easy, I'll show you," he offers to Roddy. "My mother showed me." "No, thank you," says Roddy politely, "my Otto is facing a different way, and you can't see both arms." Most of the drawings are of the tree with a robin in a nest or a big owl. Jennifer does her usual scribbling then sits and stares blankly. David manages to grab the microphone in passing and records some nonsense:

> "Hello, hello, who's there? The big, bad wolf. Not on my chinny-chin-chin. . . [Singing] Some lovin', and my parents, she got pregnant down in the South . . ."

The noise level in the room rises and rises as the children come up to the bulletin board to get the pictures that Merle is taking down and to give her the picture they have completed for posting. Some of the children stop at my table and record short descriptions of the pictures of their families taken down from the bulletin board. They are not used to being taped, so their language is hesitant, and some act silly.

At 3:10 P.M., Merle takes the children out into the hallway. Just outside the door, she had pinned up the maps of the favorite rooms some of the children had returned. This activity is very interesting to observe. The seven children who have brought their maps take turns talking about their floor plans. I am amazed at their enthusiasm and their grasp of the mapping exercise. Although most of the maps show signs of some parental or adult assistance, Terri has done her map all by herself and is very proud of it. Unfortunately, the group is very inattentive. At first they sit quietly, but as the soft voices drone on, they begin to get restless. Aluminum ladders left in the hallway prove to be a distraction for children like David and Dick. When the explanations are over, the children return to the classroom and begin to clean up. However, several linger around the chart of family cultural origins and express great interest in what the checks beside each name mean.

The day ends with the distribution of stars for Good Guy Badges and Helping Hands. The room is very noisy and the children are tired. Elmer's father has quietly joined the class during the last half-hour. A few children--Dick, Carol, and Alice--hang around my table, wanting to hear themselves on tape. They each get a chance to sing a song, then I try to send them home. They tell me they "hate to go home." Carol says, wistfully, "I wish I could sleep at school." Dick informs me very seriously, "I'm going to marry you some day." When I tell him I already have a husband, he says, "That's all right, he'll die, and then I'll marry you!"

March 17, 1980

Jobs at home. It is St. Patrick's Day and I remember to wear something green. Nevertheless, some of the children come up and give me the obligatory "pinches" because I am "not wearing green." Jennifer is particularly rough. Social studies begins with a distribution of lumps of plasticine to be used quietly as the class discusses "jobs that people do at home." Merle, seated at the front, records the elicited responses on strips of paper which she places in the pocket chart. A portion of the discussion recorded on tape follows:

Merle: Make beds? [prints] Good. These are all things that you have to do in a house. . . Faye?
Faye: Uh. . . [inaudible] cook.
Merle: We have cook. . . [waits]
Faye: Stove.
Voice: We have stove.
Faye: Clean it?
Merle: Clean the stove? Yes. [prints]. Clean stove. Betty?

Betty: Um. . . take out the garbage. [As Merle prints, David swings a pencil tied to a piece of colored yarn underneath Kitty and Trish's desks. The girls lift their feet as the pencil goes by. The game continues for some time. Merle either does not see it or she chooses to ignore it.]

Merle: Okay. Let's see what we have now. [Reads cards] 'Wash clothes,' 'wash floor and walls,' ' mow the lawn,' 'cook,' 'wash dishes,' 'wash car,' 'shoveling snow,'. . . let's change that to 'shovel snow' [crosses out -ing]. . .

Matt: [calls out insistently] Clean the car!

Merle: We have 'wash'. . . you said 'wash the car' last time.

Matt: [mutters] Wash and clean. . .

Merle: Ssshh! Wash and clean. . . Uh, 'building and fixing,' 'make beds,' 'clean stove,' 'take out the garbage,'. . .

Voice: Stove?

Merle: Stove. . . like the oven. . . Those are really good ideas. I think there might be more things to do. Some things that Dads have to do? Doug?

. . . .

Erika: Take out the garbage then you have to clean the carpet.

Merle: Well, somebody has to vacuum, don't they? [prints] Is there anything else? David?

David: I have to clean the dog's sh. . . the dog shit off the snow at lunch time.

Merle: So we clean up after pets. [Prints] Who feeds your dog, David?

David: I have to give him bones, and snow, and then I give him hot, hot potatoes and he burns his tongue! [laughs]

Merle: That doesn't sound very nice. [prints]

David: I know. . . [inaudible]

Merle: [inaudible] I'm going to put 'feed pets' up here too, David, and 'clean up after pets.'

David: [pleased] Yah!

. . . .

Faye: I've got hamsters and. . . [inaudible]

Merle: And you all, you all have to take care of them. Okay, so far we've got 'clean up after pets,' 'feed pets,' 'vacuum,' 'take care of the car,' 'put things away,' 'take out the garbage,' 'shovel snow,' 'building and fixing,' 'make beds,' 'clean stove,' 'wash and clean car,' 'mow lawn,' 'wash floor and walls,' 'wash clothes.' Well, we don't have much room left. . . Charlie?

Charlie: [inaudible]

Merle: Sssshhh! I think I'd like to leave that because we're going to do something else. Look at those words again. . .

Dick: [whining] Wha-a-at?

Merle: Think about them. Can we put any of these together? Are any of these jobs alike in any way?

Using the adapted Taba concept development strategy suggested in the teacher's guide in Activity 5, Merle proceeds to elicit ways of grouping similar jobs. Terri suggests grouping all the different kinds of 'washing' together. When Merle puts the 'washing' cards together, she asks the children if they can find other similarities among the remaining activities. This brings no response, so Merle suggests regrouping.

> "Let's make two groups, so that there are things in one group that are alike in some way, and other things in the other group that are alike in a different way. But we have to put everything in groups. Is there any way we can do that?" Merle asks.

She repeats the instructions several times, but the children are not able to grasp the concept of categorizing. Merle decides to try another approach. She selects the job of 'mow lawn' then asks what other jobs could be put with it. Rosie suggests 'cut the grass,' a job similar in meaning but not one of the jobs on the list. Terri thinks there could be a similarity between 'mow lawn' and 'vacuum.' The following exchange indicates the difference between teacher and student interpretation:

Merle: . . . Terri, what was your idea?
Terri: How are they alike when we start mowing the lawn and [inaudible]. . .
Merle: Yeah, yes, that's true. . . you do use a machine and you do have to push it around.
Terri: . . . the lawn is just like a floor.
Merle: Yeah, it is like that. . . I can see how you're thinking. . . That isn't the way I was thinking before. I think I'm going to try to get you to think of what I was thinking. . . Judy?
Judy: Vacuum.
Merle: That is what Terri was saying and it's like that because we use machines and you're cleaning up something on the ground or on the floor. Well, let's try something else. [Sound of plasticine pounding.] Trish, I'm going to give you two of these [cards] and you have to see if you can figure out how they are alike. [Trish comes to the front and holds the cards.] Do you know what those two say?
Trish: 'Wash car' and. . .
Merle: Yeah, and what's the other one?
Trish: Mow lawn.
Merle: How are those alike, Trish?. . . [waits]
Trish: [looks at cards]. . . [inaudible]
Merle: What, what. . . why do I want to put those two together somehow in a group?. . . for jobs? When I'm trying to break the jobs up? Alice?

Alice: Because they're both work.

Merle: Yes, but so is cooking, so is cleaning the stove. I wouldn't put cleaning the stove with those, the way I'm thinking now. There are different ways of grouping them. But the way I'm thinking about them now, I wouldn't put cleaning the stove with those. Elmer, how are those alike? [waits]. . . . Mowing the lawn and washing and cleaning the car?

Elmer: Washing dishes and. . .

Merle: No, I want to know how mowing the lawn and washing and cleaning the car are alike. I know that they are different too, you can't do them the same way, but they are alike in. . .

Elmer: Washing a truck and cutting the grass.

Merle: How are they alike?

Elmer: Well, like, uh, washing windows [inaudible] . . . and you can something. . . [The room is very noisy.]

Merle: Okay. Let me try one more thing. I'm going to take these two, and I'm going to give them to Charlie, and I try, Charlie, these two belong together. . . You tell me why they belong together. Do you know what they say, Charlie? [Charlie has been handed two cards. He can't read them.]

Merle: Vacuum. . . Okay. Make beds and vacuum. Sssshh! You be thinking, so you can help Charlie. . . How are these alike, Charlie?

Charlie: Because they're. . .[inaudible]

Merle: Now you are telling me how they are different! Okay, you stand and hold yours up. . . Stand up over here . . . Trish, would you bring yours up, please. . . Okay, everybody, fold your hands. Don't touch the plasticine. . . Now, Trish has two and Charlie has two. I'm saying that these two [points to Trish's cards] and these two [points to Charlie's cards] belong together. But these [points] do not belong with this one. These [points] do not belong with this one. What am I thinking of? Why do I think that these are the same in some ways: mowing the lawn and washing and cleaning the car, or vacuuming and making beds?

Doug: 'Cause it's all work.

Merle: Yes, they are all work, but this is a different kind of work from this work. What's the difference?

Doug: They are different jobs.

Merle: Yeah, they are different. . . How are they different? We can't, we don't dare do any more thinking. This is interesting. We'll work on this some more tomorrow. So you think about it, how these jobs can be grouped together. . . .

In our discussion after school, Merle says that such grouping and categorizing activity is important and that she should have done some more of that kind of skill exercise earlier in language arts. "However," she adds, "previous classes of grade one did not seem to have so much difficulty 'catching on' as this class does."

She leaves the classroom, then returns to "talk" with Dick. I go to the staff room, and soon Merle appears, carrying a basket of marking. "They play a game--they fill it up, I empty it; they fill it up, I empty it!" she laughs. This system of organizing material for marking she had learned from another grade one teacher who was so organized. Merle tells me that at five o'clock she has an interview with Katherine's parents. Since Katherine's transfer to the school, her mother has remarried. Her mother wants to discuss with Merle Katherine's "coping problems." Merle also has an interview with Charlie's parents and she says she is going to warn them that he will be repeating the grade unless he does some work.

March 18, 1980

More categorizing and group work. Because of my scheduled interview with the principal, I arrive at the school at 10:00 A.M. The interview, which deals with the school's instructional program, lasts approximately two hours, with a recess intermission. [The previous interview with the principal had focused on school and community features and relations.] From my documentary analysis of the school's proposed budget and the principal's comments during the interview, I have concluded that social studies is a low priority in this school. During the recess period (and on previous occasions), I talk with some of the teachers about their perceptions of the social studies program and the services and resources provided by the central authorities.

From the comments of these "informants," their views of the Alberta

Social Studies Program have been shaped by how the program has been translated into instructional units developed by their local school system. Walter, a beginning teacher, observes that the social studies program does not deal with valuing objectives at all. He refers to a specific unit on "Regions in Canada" which is mostly geography. Dale, an experienced teacher, has commented on the "gross inaccuracies in some of those units; it's obvious that social studies teachers can't spell." Deborah, another experienced teacher, is highly critical of the in-service workshop in social studies that she had attended the previous fall. [Merle, I found out, had chosen to go to a language-arts workshop instead.] According to Deborah, "the audio-visual materials showing people sitting around talking about the new social studies program were a waste of taxpayers' money." Furthermore, she found it frustrating to be told that the new support materials would be forthcoming, yet the teachers were expected to plan their year's social studies program in advance for budgeting purposes. [Merle's perceptions of the new social studies and of the Kanata Kit support materials have been probed in an interview.]

At this point in the study, I am trying to fit the classroom study into a larger school context. Interpreting the meaning of classroom experiences requires some understanding of how the social actors in the situation both shape and are shaped by their surrounding social milieu. Merle's reactions to the curriculum materials will be affected not only by her personal convictions about how young children learn and what they should learn, but also by the supportive or non-supportive climate within the school setting. In turn, the children's experiences with these materials have to be interpreted from a broader framework of their schooling experiences and their "unique biographical situation."

After concluding the interview with the principal, I go to the staff room and sit next to Merle on the lounge. She is marking student workbooks. From time to time, she comments on individual students and on her interactions with parents during the parent-teacher interviews. Charlie's parents had said that he is "very easily distracted and prone to being led by others to misbehave." Sitting next to David is not the best learning environment for him Merle concludes. However, she feels that she is "making some progress, behavior-wise, with the class."

> "I admit," she says, looking at me, "that for a time there, before Christmas, I think I lost control over them. When David and then Dick transferred in, it really got bad. By January, I was beginning to regain some control over them. That's probably why I agreed to participate in the project. I think I felt at the time that I needed another adult in the classroom."
>
> She goes on to explain that having classroom meetings seemed to help a bit. During the meetings, Dick usually chose to stay out.
>
> "It's funny," she says, "how people change. At one time, I would never have discussed an individual child's behavior in front of the whole class, but now I do. We talk about the problem and I'm trying to get them to see it is also a group problem needing a group solution."

Although social studies is not scheduled until the first period after recess, I enter the classroom right after the noon bell and begin my observations. The student teacher is seated at the back table. Soon Jennifer runs up to me and wants to know if I have brought "that thing you can talk into." Dick rushes up and hugs me. Merle sits at her desk at the back of the room and sets the timer for five minutes of silent "free reading." When the time is up, different children take turns reading to the class. Their reading ability varies; the audience is either attentive or bored.

When Merle terminates the reading and sharing period, she announces that there are "no math tests today," so they can keep their books on their desks and they can continue reading unless they have some "math corrections" to do. She asks them to come up and get their math workbooks, which have been checked, and to "do corrections." The student teacher and I, she informs them, will help if they have any difficulties.

Immediately, Faye and Charlie appeal to me for help. The work involves grouping by tens up to the 40s. Faye seems unable to follow the steps in the sequence suggested. After orienting Faye, I turn to Charlie. While I kneel at Charlie's desk, Dick demands that I help him. When I decline and ask him to wait his turn, he pushes me over and begins to make mewing noises. I look at him, hold his arms, and say, exasperated, "Stop that, Dick! I do not like that kind of behavior. Return to your desk if you want me to come to help you." He continues to push and struggle to topple me again. I stand up and walk away and sit down at the table, shaken. Dick is startled. He sits down at his desk and begins coloring in his coloring book.

At 1:50 P.M. Merle goes to the carpet and pulls over the pocket chart with the "job" phrases from the previous day's social studies lesson. What is happening here I wonder. Could it be that she is planning to "do" social studies outside the scheduled timetable slot? Could she be taking extra time to complete the "grouping" or concept development exercise? With the children who have completed their math "corrections," she continues the skill-building exercise. The ensuing interaction is tape recorded. First she tries to get the children to categorize the "jobs done at home" into those done by parents or adults and those done by children. However, from the children's responses, it soon becomes obvious that they do not think in such terms. Often, while relating how lawns are mowed at their house, they go off on a personal tangent. For example:

Merle: Who mows the lawn at your house? Jennifer?
Jennifer: [not paying attention] Uh. . . my dad and me and my brother. We, uh, take all the rocks out and, and. . . take other stuff off the grass so that my dad can mow the lawn.
Merle: Okay. . . Yes, Matt?
Matt: You know what I do with the lawn?
Merle: What?
Matt: I just tie [inaudible] to the bike and then all I have to do is just ride the bike and then the lawn mower goes "bzzzzzzzzzz"
Merle: It's very hard to ride a bike and. . .
Matt: Aaah! I can ride a bike!. . .
[Voices break out excitedly with "I can too!"]
Merle: [quickly] Okay, here's another kind of job.

"Shifting gears," so to speak, Merle abandons the adult-child category possibility and selects a card, 'shoveling snow,' which she puts into one section of the pocket chart. Then she selects another card, 'making beds.' She poses the question: "Where would you put the second card, in the group with 'shoveling snow' or in the second group?" She tests the children's thinking:

Merle: . . . Betty? Tell me, I'll I'll. . . Which. . .
Betty: [points] That one.
Merle: Okay. You're going to put 'shoveling snow' with 'making beds.' Why, Betty"
Betty: Because. . . uh. . . hm. . . they. . . um. . . and [inaudible]
Merle: You don't think mowing the lawn is work?
Voice: [urgent] I know! I know!
Merle: What would you do, Terri?
Terri: I would put these. . . there. . .
Merle: Why?
Terri: Because they both work on the same kind of things.
Merle: What kinds of things?
Terri: Umm. . . snow looks [inaudible] and the grass still has snow. . .
Merle: Oh! That's very good thinking, Terri. Terri says that mowing the lawn, that's the grass outside, and when you're shoveling the snow, you're *shoveling something* that's on the grass, on the lawn too. Okay. . . [She sorts through the cards and holds one up.] What's this job? . . . . Elmer, Faye, and Roddy--what *are* you doing over there? [These children have crawled under the easel.]

Sit up now, please. What's this job, uh. . . Terri?

. . . .

Merle: When you vacuum is it the same as shoveling snow? Well, how is it like?. . . Charlie? [speaks quickly], or Sherman, what would you do?
Sherman: I'd put it over there [points].
Merle: Why did you put it over there?
Sherman: Because these two are outside things and these two are inside things.

Astonishing! The kindergarten child is able to discover the grouping strategy that Merle is using while the rest of the children who participated could not "see" it. In concluding the exercise, Merle, resolved to be fair, includes two possible ways of categorizing the activities. Using Terri's strategy, she says, "We could put this over here because that would be 'things we do to the floor or ground,'" then she adds Sherman's insightful discovery (which matches her own objective), "we could put it over here because then we have inside jobs and outside jobs."

At this point in my study, I am becoming more appreciative of Merle's "deep" understanding of how young children think and reason. I also am beginning to empathize with her struggles to be tolerant and patient with their "fumblings and gropings." How easy it had been for me to assume, as a developer, that in classifying "jobs done at home," children would be able to verbalize labels such as: inside-outside, parent-child, boy-girl, man-woman activities!

The grouping activity is continued after the recess break, during the scheduled social studies period. Somehow, it seems anti-climatic, for the real break, in terms of achieving the teacher's objectives, had occurred when Sherman had an "idea" which Merle now acknowledges.

> "Just before recess, Sherman had an idea. He said, 'Some jobs you do inside the house. Mowing the lawn, shoveling snow are jobs that you do outside the house.' [Picks up a card.] Here's a job. 'Washing dishes.' Where would you put it?. . ."

It all seemed so simple after that, except that Merle also points out that some "jobs" or activities as recorded, can fall under more than one category or label. For example, 'putting things away' can be an outside or an inside activity. Others are even more ambiguous: is 'taking garbage out' an inside or an outside job? 'Looking after pets' has two sides: it can be an inside or an outside activity. David's dogs are 'outside'; Kitty's pet bird is an 'inside' pet. The discussion could have gone on and on. However, Merle turns to the objectives of research as outlined in the kit.

While she reviews the group chart work done so far, the children are very restless. More and more stars "fall" as people like David misbehave. According to my notes:

> David, who has been sliding up and down the aisle near his desk, goes back to his desk and puts his head down--for a few seconds. Merle snaps her fingers, then she shuts the door.

The group work exercise is about to begin. Merle stands near the Master Chart and shows them the key word "Work" that will be guiding their group research. She looks in my direction. "I've forgotten the two questions I'm supposed to print beneath the word 'Work' in this step." I whisper, "I think the questions are: "Who works at home?" "Who works away from home?" "Thanks," she smiles as she prints the questions on the chalkboard. As she hands out the group charts, the whole room erupts. Instead of recording group interaction as I had intended, I shut off the tape recorder and just watch and take notes.

Merle points out the two different columns on the chart: What We Think and What We Found Out. However, these columns have not been labeled with the appropriate headings before the group research activity was launched. Consequently, some drawings have overflowed into the wrong column. Some charts seem more crowded than others. Today's group task, according to Merle, is related to "Work at Home."

I find the debate over who is supposed to be group leader extremely frustrating. Because seating has been rearranged, the original plan of rotating group leaders by proceeding down each row has to be adapted. Instead, for some reason, Merle tries to sort out who should have been group leader, who was absent on the day of his or her turn, who had never been group leader, and so on. Finally, the issue is solved arbitrarily--by Merle. But the working atmosphere is affected by such bickering and uncertainty. Then she assembles the group leaders and issues the instructions that they are to "talk together as a group and decide on two jobs that the people in the family have to do at home" and then "decide who is going to write these jobs on the chart." However, while issuing these instructions, she is interrupted repeatedly and she has to contend with the growing restlessness and inattention in the room.

My resolve to record some group interaction soon evaporates as the noise escalates. My notes say:

> I watch as the groups trail behind their 'leaders,' and after wandering about aimlessly, they decide on some location in the room. The leaders, carrying the charts and clutching their crayon boxes, seldom assign the jobs to be done or even discuss them. Instead, most group leaders that I have observed thus far see leadership as a privilege, a right to keep the crayons and to begin printing [assuming that they have listened to the instructions and know what to print]. While the leader prints or draws the picture, the rest of the group sit around watching or wrestling, depending on their understanding of the group task. Quite often, in spite of the prior instructions, neither the leader nor the rest of the group members are clear about the tasks.

This time, I decide to concentrate on Group 2, whose designated leader is Dick. However, by the time the group has settled down to a place, Alice is clutching the crayons which Dick had given her "because he doesn't want to be leader" she informs me. When I check with Dick, he says, "Nope, I don't want to be leader" as he leaps on Adam's back. I forcibly separate the two. Dick, jumping up and down like someone possessed, searches for another victim and finds--me. He leaps at me, his silly grin pasted on his face, his mouth twisted. I hold his arms and try to 'reason' with him, but it seems useless. "Stop it!" I say sharply, turning my back to him--a dangerous move--for he then leaps upon it. I throw him off, turn, and glare. "Stop it, Dick!" I repeat. Mercifully, he moves off, to torment someone else. What has happened to him I wonder.

Meanwhile, Alice, the leader, clutches the crayons and asks, "What are we supposed to do?" None of the group members know when I ask them. Finally, after asking if anybody knows what word goes into the space I indicate on the chart, someone says, "Work!" "How do you spell that?" asks Alice. I lead her to the Master Chart which was intended to forestall such problems and I point to the word. Immediately, Alice begins printing the word. I ask her, "Do you know what a group leader is supposed to do?" "No," she shakes her head. Just as I am explaining that being a group leader does not mean doing all the work herself but helping the group decide, Dick returns to the group. He begins bothering Adam again. As I move to separate them, Alice begins printing the word. Terri sits silently and watches. She looks unhappy.

While pinning Dick's arms down to his sides, I try to get the group to hypothesize about two jobs that the family they are studying might do around the home. The suggestions come rapidly: "mow the lawn, wash dishes, wash and clean the car." However, the problem of choosing which jobs and who will print the words on the chart seems beyond the capabilities of this particular group. Although I repeatedly stress the need to choose someone from the group, Alice's idea of leadership still means that *she* is to do the work. After all, she has the crayons! After further discussion, Alice reluctantly surrenders some crayons to two other members of the group. Just as Carol and Adam are about to print the job phrases, Dick starts acting up again. [He had left the group momentarily, to my relief.] When I suggest that he help by printing one of the jobs, he says, petulantly, "No, I don't wanna do anything," and ends up giving me another shove, all with that grin on his face. As I cope with Dick, I try to direct the two group members to the pocket chart where they can find the job phrases. All this while, I completely overlook Terri, who sits there quietly. Later, she approaches me and reproachingly asks, "How come you didn't choose me to do anything? I waited and waited."

When the class leaves for the library, I am in no mood for further encounters with Dick and his mewing and his pushing behavior. In the hallway, I notice Elmer's father sitting on the bench. We spend the library period together discussing the wall frieze, the classroom map, the children's mapping of their favorite room at home, and the family origins chart. He is not too enthused about the latter because he wonders when people will start calling themselves 'Canadian' instead of those 'other nationalities.'

After picking up the abandoned group charts and scattered crayons in the classroom, I escape to the staff room, fully in empathy with [illegible]rle's feeling of being "exhausted at the end of the day." When she joins me after school, she tells me that David and Dick had been in a fight earlier that day, "and when Dick gets hurt, he's finished for the day. He refuses to do anything. During our class meetings he seldom joins in, but today he did. I'll be meeting with his parents one of these days and we'll just have to discuss his behavior." I tell her about my own encounters with him that day--his earlier rough treatment of me and his misbehavior in the group. I also tell her that on my way out of the classroom after school, Dick had waylaid me and had asked if I were "staying after school." I had told him that I was very disappointed in his behavior that day and I had asked him if he knew why. His answer had been, "I was trying to hurt the people in my group and you didn't like it."

As I leave for home, I feel very "down" about the classroom and the study. For some reason, on my way home, with the sound of heavy truck traffic in my ears, the words to a popular lyric keep running through my head: "I beg your pardon, I never promised you a rose garden."

March 19, 1980

After the zoo. Social studies begins with a review of the "guesses about the jobs your family does at home." Using the group charts, Merle asks members of the five different groups to recall the names of the jobs that they had printed on their charts the day before. Then, departing from her previous procedure, Merle displays the study prints showing the families working at home. Observing the pictures, the children are asked to identify some of the jobs that different family members do at home. "Taking care of baby" is a job that had not been suggested by the children in their earlier categorizing exercise. Merle leads a brief discussion about such a "job" by relating it to the children's own personal experiences of baby sitting. This prompts Judy to mention that "The Meanie" is a favorite book of hers. "Doing beadwork" has little meaning for the children, although Merle tries to provide examples such as beaded moccasins or jackets and a visit to a rodeo. Similarly, "Managing houses for other people" is outside the realm of experience of the children who merely see a man "typing" on the study print.

While the children examine the study prints that are arranged along the chalk tray, Merle sets up the next tape for the listening activity which follows. Meanwhile, David is intrigued by my tape recorder, running up every few minutes to push the buttons. Finally, I shut it off and put it away. There is a great deal of talking in the room as if something had happened earlier that day. Suddenly, I notice Sheila hiding behind the table as she slides along the floor. She whispers to me, "Katherine gave me this nail polish to put on. But I have to take it off before home time because my mother will be mad. She doesn't let me wear nail polish." Sheila proceeds to scrub her nails at the sink.

Merle calls the children to the carpet by rows. She cautions them about the need to be very quiet so that everybody can hear what jobs these families do at home. However, Dick and David are not on the carpet with the others. Dick is on all fours, creeping down one aisle, while David, also on his hands and knees, is stalking him in the other aisle. Sheila remains at the sink, running the water continuously as she desperately scrubs her nails. On the carpet, there is more than the usual amount of "grooming" behavior as the girls braid each other's hair. As unobtrusively as possible, I carry the tape recorder over to an area near the carpet and turn it on as the listening activity begins.

As the taped story of the Morin and Brown families' jobs at home is played, the children listen to the Moose's voice and look at the accompanying study print. Stopping the tape at this point, Merle focuses on a theme mentioned in both stories: rewards for work done. Through questioning she leads the children to recall that in the Morin family the children receive an allowance and in the Brown family the Jamaican grandmother's philosophy is that "a good word for a job well done is sufficient." In explaining the meaning of a "good word," Merle proceeds in this manner:

> "What does a 'good word' mean? David, would you close that book, and go back to your desk. Sheila, over to the carpet." [Sheila is back at the sink again, wetting another paper towel, trying to remove the red nail polish. She comes back to the carpet, sits down, turns her back to the teacher and continues to scrub her nails as the wet paper towel shreds around her.]
>
> "What is a 'good word?'" Merle continues.
>
> "To say a good word to someone," says Betty.
>
> "What is a good word like?" asks Merle. [Doug scrapes at the radiator near the tape recorder. I ask him to stop. He scrapes louder.]
>
> "Let's suppose you had just shoveled the walk. . . and your parents, and your Dad gave you a good word. . . What would he say?"
>
> Terri's response is lost in the noise.
>
> "Yeah!" says Merle. "A good word is like a warm fuzzy, isn't it?. . ."

Merle starts the tape again and plays the Steinhauer family portion, stopping suddenly to send both David and Dick back to their desks, and then she resumes the listening activity. In spite of Merle's snapping fingers, the children seem more than normally restless and tired. Focusing on the study prints, Merle asks the children to use the study print and the tape to recall the work done by the Morin, Brown, and Steinhauer children. The remaining two families, the Kalynas and the Katos, are listened to on tape and then similarly discussed. At the end of the tape, Merle concludes that she is "looking at a lot of very tired people today." This brings forth a chorus of heavy sighs. Then she announces that instead of working on the "What We Found Out" part of the group charts, the remainder of the social studies period will be spent drawing a picture of an animal that they had seen in the visiting zoo that morning. That explains their behavior!

As they work on their drawings, I walk around from desk to desk and ask them to describe their pictures. Merle's instructions are related to language arts requirements. They are to draw the animal in the story they had written that morning after the zoo visit and they are to make the picture show how the animal "feels" (to the touch). When it is time for dismissal, they get dressed and leave without cleaning up the room. So, after school, I put up the chairs and pick up stray running shoes and end up coloring a page in Dick's new coloring book.

March 21, 1980

Group work as play time. A noisy but happy activity is in progress as I enter the classroom at 1:40 P.M. Merle and the student teacher are helping the children make large painted Easter eggs. During the art period on Thursday they had made two large paintings; today they are using oval tracers to cut out two Easter eggs from the paintings. When the edges are partially stapled together, they stuff crumpled papers inside for a three dimensional effect that is very attractive. After the egg is stuffed, it is stapled the rest of the way and then hung up from the centre clothesline. The children are very proud of their work.

After recess, the children take a long time to settle down. Many keep running around the room. Some had fallen in the water puddles and are quite wet. Merle, who was on supervision, enters the room, turns off the lights, removes some stars, and then glares at the children. She tells them that since it is Friday, there is a lot of work to be done, and she wants to leave enough time to listen to the record that Judy has brought. But first, they have to "talk" about recess behavior.

I am beginning to dread the group work sessions. Today's session gets off to a bad start when a long time is spent sorting out who is supposed to be group leader. Walking over to the group charts which, by this time, are taking on a ragged appearance, Merle reviews what each group had guessed the jobs at home were for their respective family. Lifting each group chart, she shows the place where they are to record "What We Found Out" family members do at home. In her instructions, she stresses the need to decide which two jobs at home they will print on the chart. To help them with their printing, the job phrases they had used in the categorizing exercise are displayed again in the pocket chart.

This time, I decide to observe Group 3 who can't decide how to go about getting started. Roddy, in command of the crayons, is more interested in playing. Erika wants to work. She keeps insisting that "we have to print what they really did on this side of the chart." Finally, I send someone from the group to get the study print showing the family members working at home. Erika begins to print one of the captions beneath one picture; Carol grabs the crayons away from Roddy and begins to print the other caption. Roddy and Elmer, the two other group members, decide to lie on their backs on the floor and they try to grab the crayons away from the girls. When Merle announces that the time for the chart work is over and they are to come to the carpet, the two boys under the table keep coloring the underside of the table. Finally, I take the crayons away and send them off to the carpet.

The group discussion that ensues is very disjointed, punctuated by frequent episodes of disruptive behavior and consequent disciplinary action by Merle. Nevertheless, Merle attempts to have the children recall some of the jobs mentioned on the tape and to match them with the jobs suggested by the children and placed in the pocket chart. Using the "thumbs up" game, Merle reads the job phrases and the children indicate whether they have heard them on the tape.

Then, Merle poses the question: "If you could choose a job to do at home, which would it be?" The responses are very personal and revealing of the individual temperaments. Dick, for example, would drive a car; Alice would watch the baby. Elmer would clean the car; Betty would put things away. This brings up another issue: "Are there any jobs that only women and girls do?" "Are there any jobs that only men and boys do?" To my surprise, there is no sex-role stereotyping expressed by anybody in the group. The last issue raised by Merle (who has the teacher's guide open on her lap and is referring to the suggested questions for discussion) is: "How would the jobs change if there's a new baby in the house?" This is how the last issue is resolved:

Merle: . . . how would the jobs change, if somebody new comes, if there's a new baby in the house? How do jobs change? . . . Alice?
Alice: Uh. . . well, you'd hafta . . play with the baby?
Merle: Okay. What if the person who'd been cooking and washing dishes. . . and taking out the garbage, now has to spend more time taking care of the baby?. . . What would happen? Who's going to cook and wash dishes and take the garbage out? Betty?
Betty: If your sister doesn't go to school, they can.
Merle: Okay. What about if. . . what about if you are home from school, is there anything on that list that you can do?. . . Can you cook, or wash dishes, or take out the garbage?
Betty: [pauses]. . . I could take out a big. . ugh! . . garbage out!
Merle: Sure! If moms or dads or grandmas become more busy because of the change in the house, then that means the kids have to do more, don't they? They can do a part of it, so they have more time. . .
You've been very good about being quiet. Some of you haven't been so good about listening to the different jobs. But we've had a good discusson this week, and some good contributions. . .

The remaining time is spent listening to Judy's record which is a collection of short spirituals, community songs, and folk songs. During one song, some of the girls join in since the song is one they sing at Brownies. Another selection is a bouncy, 'jig-a-long number' that causes a lot of clapping. After the record is finished, I help in the Good Guy Badge distribution by counting out stars for each child according to the star chart.

March 24, 1980

Magazine pictures for a collage. On my way to the staff room at 2:45 P.M., I notice Sherman and David sitting on the 'hot seat' (orange bench) in the office. They must have misbehaved again in music, I think, as I enter the staff room where Merle sits marking more worksheets and booklets. Soon the kindergarten teacher enters and the two discuss how to arrange a conference with Sherman's mother who is convinced there is no problem.

The social studies lesson begins with a question: "What kinds of jobs did you do at home this week?" Using a scribbler, Merle records the different student responses. "What did you do, Terri?" she asks. "I studied . . and I washed the table," says Terri. Meanwhile, Jennifer seated behind Terri, is giggling and laughing, and she engages Judy, across the aisle, in her antics. Merle walks over to the star chart and solemnly crosses off a star. Just then, the kindergarten teacher appears in the doorway and the two hold a whispered, but brief, conference. Merle turns her attention back to the class, summoning Jennifer to the front where she asks her to stand. "Stop that noise," Merle states matter-of-factly, but the class continues to erupt in giggles and whispers. She asks the children to stand up and stretch for a few seconds. Then she tells them to sit down and she resumes the discussion.

"Betty, what did you do this week end?" she continues. "I studied," says Betty primly, and then goes on, "I did the dishes." As she speaks, first Charlie, then Katherine start sliding on their stomachs down the aisle. Merle ignores their behavior and carries on, asking Elmer the same question. "I cleaned my room, helped make the beds, and. . . helped wash the car," says Elmer. Suddenly, Merle states that she would like to continue the discussion but would Judy help her by "taking off some stars for the following people--Erika, Doug, Dick--who are not paying attention." As Judy goes to the chart, Carol sings out, "I helped by listening and doing what my Mom said." Merle repeats, "You listened and did. . what did you do, Carol?" Carol proceeds to relate a rambling story about "last night. . . I didn't get much sleep," which Merle cuts short with an, "Okay, and what did you do, Sheila?" Speaking in her usual quiet voice, Sheila whispers, "I set the table." This spurs Jennifer on to say, "I cleared off the table, made the beds, and cleaned up the TV room." Even quiet Adam, seldom heard in class, avows that he had "helped wash the floor." Praising the class for being quiet, Merle continues. "Judy, what did you do to help around the house?" "I cleaned the house," says Judy. "All the house?" asks Merle somewhat skeptically. "I washed the dishes," admits Judy more modestly. This prompts Charlie to go into a long story of what he had done, to which Merle responds, "Did you do all that on the week end?" "No," says Charlie, unabashedly, "I fixed my bed." Erika, whose hand had been up patiently, now says, "I cleaned up my sister's bedroom and picked up stuff and put it away." "Picked up and put toys away," says Merle as she prints.

Merle picks up a large sheet of chart paper and tells the class, "Today I would like you to cut out pictures from magazines and I will put them on this chart. I won't paste them at first, I'll just use pins, it's faster. I want you to cut the pictures, not tear them. I want you to work quietly. Remember, you are to find and cut out pictures of 'jobs people do at home.'"

The children become excited. This is a different activity. As they search for scissors, Merle sits patiently in front of the room and calls on one person from each row to go to the back and bring a magazine for each person in the row. When they find a picture, they are to cut it out and bring it to her to pin on the chart. They also are to look for more pictures at home of "work that families do at home."

Soon the whole room is buzzing with excitement. However, in a short while there are complaints that they cannot find any pictures. Merle counters their complaints with the advice, "If you can't find any pictures in the first magazine, take it back and choose another." I decide to walk around to see what kinds of pictures the children are discovering. To my surprise, I notice that most of the magazines are New Yorkers, mostly essays and sophisticated black and white cartoons! I do notice one Sears catalogue and a Consumers Distributors catalogue. "Is this a job? Is this a picture?" come the plaintive calls from several children. I resolve to bring some old magazines from home next day if the activity continues.

The activity has its lighter moments too, as I notice Alice rushing past me, a mischievous smile on her face. As she goes by, she says, "I must give this one to Doug." Shortly after, I stroll over to Doug's desk. Doug sits, cutting out page-size pictures, which he says he will take home to his mother. The pictures are totally unrelated to the assigned task. A few of the children are serious about trying to find some pictures, which means they rush back and forth to the back, hoping to find a magazine with good pictures in it. Some snickers attract my attention, and the next time Alice rushes past, I intercept her and ask to see the picture she is about to give Doug. It shows a scantily clad woman in a see-through brassiere.

By the end of the activity, Merle has managed to post three pictures, so I offer to bring some old magazines next day if the activity were continued. The magazines are forgotten in the mad rush to get dressed. The usual mitt tossing and teasing occur in the cloakroom. Betty comes up and shows a gaping hole in her mouth where she has lost a tooth. Carol tells me a joke about the ABCs and Kitty, who seldom speaks, tells me a Pink Panther joke.

When the buzzer sounds at 3:30 P.M., some of the children dart out, but Merle insists they return to their desks to be dismissed by rows. In the doorway I can see the music teacher waiting to speak with Merle. Neither Sherman nor David has returned from their chat with the principal. As Merle and the music teacher leave the room, Carol gleefully announces she doesn't have to go home right away because her mother is coming to see the teacher. Meanwhile, I help a distraught Alice look for her mitt that Dick has tossed up on the shelf. Dick runs up to me and begins his mewing. I tell him sternly that I will have nothing further to do with him unless he behaves better. "I'm trying to behave better this week," he says. "My mom told me, if I can behave this week, she'll buy me anything, anything I want, it doesn't matter how much it costs!"

"Good night, Dick," I say firmly as I walk out the door.

In the staff room, Merle is relaxing before her parent interview. "As usual, David and Sherman were acting up in music, yet Sherman's mother thinks there is no problem. I just don't know," she sighs. After glancing up at the clock, she leaves the room. On my way down the hallway, as I am leaving, I see her in conversation with a woman in her room. Carol lurks in the hallway near the classroom door.

March 25, 1980

More picture cutting. Having deposited the box of old magazines in the classroom, I go the the staff room where I stay until after recess is over. Dick greets my entry into the classroom by leaping on my back. I dislodge him and walk to the back of the room. He follows, stands up on a table, and tries to jump into my arms. I am in no mood to play. I tell him to get down. He whimpers and says, "You're not my friend any more." [I can live with that very easily.]

After the children are settled in their desks, Merle shows them the pictures that Katherine has brought from home. As she pins them up, she tells the children they can go by rows to get a magazine from the box of magazines on the table. They are to continue to look for pictures of "jobs people do at home."

I watch as the children leaf through the magazines. Many are distracted by the pictures of food which they want to cut out, or by toys which they insist on cutting out and taking home. I help some children--Erika, Jennifer, Terri, and Judy--find some pictures in the magazines. As the pictures are brought for posting, Merle sets another condition: they have to have a person or persons in them rather than just some object. As I walk around the room, I see children who are just looking at the pictures in the magazines. Doug has cut out a picture of a group of women sitting around a livingroom and looking at something on the coffee table. "How is that a job done at home?" I ask him, to which he replies, "Yes, it is! That's some women selling jewellry to the other women." However, his serious commitment is short-lived. Soon he is back, digging in the box for magazines at the bottom. "Boy, there sure are some good pictures--lots of good lookin' women!" he says with a knowing wink and leer. Then he moves closer to me and confides, "You know what they're sayin' to me? They're sayin' that I'm too young to look at these dirty pictures. And I'm already seven!"

Nearby, Matt finds a full-page ad for cookies. "Yum! Yum!" he says. "I like these cookies," and he pretends to "eat" them off the page. Then he cuts out all the food pictures he can find. So does Sheila, who says she is taking them home for her mother. Even tiny Faye says to me, as she puts her Chatelaine and Good Housekeeping magazines back, "There are some real sexy pictures in there!" Kitty spends most of her time ripping out the discount coupons (long expired) to take to her mother.

When Merle announces that it is time to get ready for library, some of the children at the back ignore her instructions and continue cutting out pictures. David, still fascinated by my recorder, tries to grab the microphone each time he passes the table. After I put it away in my handbag, he lies under the table, waiting for the chance to grab it again. Instead of going to the library, I stay in the room and talk with the student teacher.

When the children return from the library, there is still time for a story since I had picked up some of the scraps and had put the magazines away. After school, Merle is busy with the student teacher.

However, the speech therapist enters and they discuss Adam's and Kitty's progress. When Merle signs the student teacher's observation sheet, she comments, "It's funny how these things vary from student teacher to student teacher. Some of them have all the checks on one side, some on the other."

March 26, 1980

Jobs away from home. I bring another box of old magazines into the classroom at recess. In the staff room Merle, who has just talked with the school counsellor, tells me that the counsellor had suggested that Dick be sent home on his really 'bad' days, an idea they would discuss with his parents during the interview that day. Strange things have been happening earlier today she informs me. Both Betty and Jennifer are missing a boot.

When we enter the classroom, Betty rushes up and asks me if the tooth fairy is invisible. "I like you," gushes Carol. David comes to my table and wants to know if I have my tape recorder because he has a "real neat song" he wants to sing. Merle switches off the lights and announces that while she has to attend to something very important they can play the game "King and Queen of Silence" until she gets back. The game starts off smoothly at first and the room is quiet. However, it isn't long before some of the children begin violating the rules and the snickering and tripping and complaining begin. David brings the crisis to a head when he unjustly chooses his pal Elmer, one of the noisiest in the room, to be "King." Fortunately, Merle returns and the game ends.

Complimenting them on the "super job" they did on the picture chart the day before, Merle says she has so many pictures she has to pin them on top of one another. Alice wants to know if they are going to talk about the maps of their favorite rooms again because she has brought hers. Merle says there is no time because there are so many other things to do.

Seating herself at the front of the room, Merle says she is going to record the different kinds of jobs that their parents do away from home. She questions each child in the class. Their responses, which are recorded on tape, are interesting. Only a few children, like Charlie, whose father is a taxi-driver, know the name of the parent's occupation. Most describe what their parents do, and Merle supplies the label. For example, Terri knows that her father "works out of town" [welder], Sherman's father "is away from home a lot and he goes far, far away" [long-distance trucker], Elmer's father "fixes things and welds stuff" [carpenter], Bernice's parents "work in a hospital" [mother is a lab technician], Judy's father is "a bus station" [bus dispatcher], Doug's father "works with his brother and they fix a lot of things. . cars" [mechanic], Rosie's mother "works with machines. . . she puts papers in the thing" [printing assistant] and her father "takes all the bread" [delivery man], Erika's father "works at the university" as does Dick's, and David's father is "studying mechanics."

In shifting to the group chart activity where they will hypothesize about what the parents' jobs are in the different families they are studying, Merle informs them that she will set the timer for their group discussions on what they think their group's family's parents do as "jobs away from home." Then she will record what they have decided, printing their guesses on their group charts. The questions they have to talk about are: "Who works away from home? What is their job called?" Once again, a long dispute takes place over whose turn it is to be group leader, with several people losing stars for becoming very noisy during the proceedings.

Just then, Mr. Sloan's voice booms out, "Who lost a boot?" After he has examined its mate to know what he is looking for, Mr. Sloan leaves and the dispute over leadership breaks out again! The children shout at each other. Finally, Merle arbitrarily settles the dispute by announcing the group leaders. Before sending the groups off for their discussion, Merle attempts to simplify the skills of decision making needed to come up with choices in the group. "How will your group decide together as a group?" asks Merle repeatedly. "How will your group make the decision?" Drawing on personal family decision-making experiences, she asks several children to relate how their family makes decisions.

"For example, let's suppose that you are going to go out for dinner. . . and some of you want to go to McDonald's and some of you want to go to the Ponderosa, how do you decide?" For Terri, it is a matter of one going to one place, and the other going to the other place. As an alternative, they decide not to go out. Betty thinks the problem can be solved by bringing food in, like "Old Kentucky and things like that." In Alice's family, her parents decide for her.

Then, Merle asks, "Do you think that in your group, your group leader should decide for you?" Some children say "Yes" and some say "No." Suddenly, Katherine comes up with a solution [to the going-out-for dinner-problem] by saying that in her family, they "sometimes go to one restaurant for dinner and to another restaurant for dessert." Now, Merle is faced with the problem of bringing the issue of decision making back to the group. The dinner analogy is threatening to become a distraction.

Repeatedly, Merle poses the question, "How do you decide together? What do you do? You think, you talk, you decide. How are you going to do that?" Some of the students' responses are:

Terri: We all take turns guessing, and then, then the group leader says which one guess is the goodest.
Erika: Yeah, we could all cooperate.
Merle: Yeah, that's a really good idea. . Okay, let me ask you . . . There've been times, in this classroom, when we have made decisions. And I've said, 'Do you want to do this, or do you want to do that?' How have you told me what you want to do? Alice?
Alice: We said, we had to. . . we had to raise our hand.
Merle: Putting up your hand, that's right. Do you think you could do that with your group leader?

By role-playing that she is the group leader, Merle begins to demonstrate the process of decision making. Just then, the secretary comes in with the missing boot. It is hard to bring their attention back to decision making, but Merle tries. She pretends:

Merle: [loud voice] Okay! I'm going to pretend that I'm a group leader. . [Children continue to talk] Ssshh! Okay, group leader, we're going to look at . . the Green family. Here are all our pictures of the Green family [sweeping motion of her hand across the Master Chart]. Here is Mr. Green and Mrs. Green [giggles from the class] are going out for dinner. [giggles increase] How many of you think Mr. Green works away from home for money? [children think this is very funny] One, two, three, four. . . eleven. How many of you think that Mr. Green does not go out of the house to work for his money? [hands raised again] One, two, three, four, five, six. Okay, more people think Mr. Green goes out of the house to earn money than think he does not. So leaders, so far, my group that I'm leader of has decided that Mr. Green works outside the home for money. He goes away for a job. . . to raise money.

She proceeds to demonstrate in the same manner how they would decide whether Mrs. Green goes out to work or not. Just as she poses the question, "What do you thing Mr. Green does?" and gets the first "guess," there is a sudden, loud voice in the room. Mr. Sloan, the custodian, delivers the following lecture:

> All I want to say is if I find anybody throwing shoes, anybody else's shoes around, I warn you [scraping sound in the room] they'll be in a lot of trouble! . . . We are sure gonna get after you! And I'm gonna be watchin' you, so you don't touch other people's clothes--boots, coats, or anything! And don't you forget it!
> Anything that belongs to anybody else, you just don't touch! Because we haven't got time to be running around, lookin' for people's clothes! . . Now if you. . . if I catch ya, we're gonna send a letter home to your mother. . . and there's gonna be lots of trouble! . . You'd better believe it! Now, if I catch anybody throwing clothes around, they're gonna be in trouble!

As soon as that crisis passes, Merle turns again to decision making. In response to her question about what work Mr. Green does, the guesses are: "welder, salesman, helper, carpenter." Once again, participating in the role-playing, the children vote for the occupation that they have imagined is Mr. Green's. At the conclusion of the role-playing exercise on decision making, Merle summarizes the decisions they have made. Then, she gives them the study prints showing the five family groups and sets the timer for five minutes.

The children look for a place to settle. I decide to observe group 4: Faye, Betty, and Kitty (group leader). Although Betty is anxious to begin, Kitty doesn't know what to do. Betty and Faye prompt her, but she refuses to speak. So, I review the tasks with the group, posing the first question: "Does Mr. Kato go out to work?" Kitty is to ask the second question: "Does Mrs. Kato go out to work?" But Kitty does not say a word. Both Faye and Betty keep prompting her, but nothing helps break Kitty's silence. Just then the timer goes. Betty asks the second question to which she and Faye respond. They do not attempt the question about jobs, but Betty, anxious to complete the task, rushes an answer, "I know. My guess is that he is a doctor and she's a nurse."

Merle records each group's decisions on the chart, as reported by the group leaders. Judy's group had decided that Mr. Morin is a carpenter. Terri's group decided that Mr. Brown works as a carpenter and Mrs. Brown does not work outside the home. In the Steinhauer family, Roddy's group decided that Mr. Steinhauer does "typewrite" and so does Mrs. Steinhauer. In the Kato family group, there is a dispute over who should be reporting and what should be reported, so Merle says she'll "leave it for now." There is another interruption as some boys carry in the record player and speakers on a trolley. In the Kalyna family, as the discussion resumes, Charlie reports that his group had guessed that Mr. Kalyna is a carpenter and Mrs. Kalyna is a housecleaner.

By this time the children are tired and restless. Merle gives them a washroom break. As we wait for them to return, Merle reflects on her attempt to teach the process of decision making. "So much for democracy!" she smiles ruefully. She wonders, "How many more of these group activities are there, because they seem to be getting tired of them. So that's why I thought I'd change it a bit and do the printing myself."

I agree that the group work seems to be posing serious difficulties for them. In my observations, I have noted that for them the concept of leadership usually means possession of the crayons which leads to doing the job yourself rather than delegating it to others. Merle doubts that group work is suitable for grade one; however, in a language arts in-service workshop, she has seen videotapes of young children working in groups. With these particular children, group work is a new experience. "Somehow, reading it in the guidebook and actually trying to do it isn't the same," Merle remarks. "No," I reply, "there is no provision in the guidebook for what to do when someone loses a boot and then the caretaker returns it in the middle of a decision-making lesson."

After school, Merle says, "I want a bit of a break in the staff room before Dick's parents come for the interview at 4:00 o'clock." We both wonder if there had been any after-effects of his chemotherapy that could have affected his behavior. "Well, I wish I knew," Merle says, "I'd feel really terrible if he had only a limited time left and here I am, 'hitting on' him, about his behavior."

March 28, 1980

The last day before spring break. The last day before spring break--I wonder what it will be like. On my way to the classroom I am spotted by Dick who tells me that he had fallen in a puddle and wet his pants, his socks, and "liners." He is not the only one, for I can see others had not missed the wet spots either.

The room is a mad house--children are hopping about the room, all wearing bunny hats with floppy ears. Someone runs up to tell Merle that Jennifer is crying--screaming is a better description--because she has been pushed in the mud. A mud-spattered and wet Jennifer emerges from the cloakroom and, between sobs, says that Matt had pushed her. Matt protests that Jennifer had splashed water in his face first. "I have to deal with this right away," Merle informs the class. She sends both Matt and Jennifer into the hallway, then looks around the rooms and tells the children to sit down for she will be back soon. In the meantime, Terri is to sort out the flash cards that lie scattered on one table. Katherine runs up and asks me to fix her headband which has ripped, and as I search for a stapler, Kitty comes up and asks to have her hat fixed too. Alice wants the class to play King and Queen of Silence, but I remind her that they had not played by the rules last time I watched them play the game.

Merle enters the room and repeats to the class that there is so much work to be done. Before they leave for home they have to clean out their desks, put their shoes in the cubbies, and take a lot of work home because the floors will be washed and cleaned during the holidays. At this stage, I assume that Merle will forget about the social studies lesson [I certainly would have, under the circumstances]. However, she surprises me by saying, as she hands out copies of the traditional Easter-bunny-and-spring-chick-hatching-from-an-egg picture for them to color, that she will play the tape where Mighty Moose and Sophie Squirrel find out about "the jobs Canadian families do when they work outside the home." As the children color, they walk back and forth to the crayon box on the back table. Some bring their papers and color at the table, their backs turned to what Merle is doing at the front.

Merle starts the tape. The sound is very fluttery in that noisy room. The acoustics in that room are terrible, even at the best of times. I am tempted to say, "Forget it! This is not the day for this!" However, she tries to solve the problem by turning the player up to the loudest setting and by placing it on her lap as she sits on the step stool in the front centre of the room. She plays the first segment of the tape about the Morin family. "Mighty Moose found out that Mr. Morin is the vice-principal of a bilingual high school," says Merle. "What does that mean?" she asks. "It means that he sits in his office," says Erika brightly. Perhaps she'd seen the study print of him in his office. "But what would a bilingual high school be like?" Merle asks. She looks around the class and asks Elmer who says that it means "typing." After further attempts at clarification that are equally as fruitless, Merle explains that it means "two languages." Terri thinks that the two languages are "French and England." "French and English--that's right!" corrects Merle. She replays the tape portion with the instructions "to listen to the part about the languages in a bilingual school." Then she shows the study print of Mr. Morin with some students in his office.

"What should we print under "What We Found Out" about what Mr. Morin does?" she asks. Several children, busy at their coloring, call out, "Vice-principal!" She prints it on the chart.

Just then, Mr. Sloan, the custodian, appears in the doorway and announces that he is bringing back Charlie's jacket, and his socks, but his pants will take a bit longer to dry. Since Charlie comes by bus, Merle should remind Mr. Sloan a bit earlier to go and get them from where they are drying.

The lesson resumes. Merle starts the tape up again and plays the portion dealing with the Steinhauer family. Someone in the class remembers that Mr. Steinhauer "looks after stock" to which Merle responds with a positive, "Good for you! That's a good way to put it." She questions the class about Mrs. Steinhauer's job, for although she does not go out to work she does beadwork and sells it to her friends. Merle shows the Steinhauer study print to the class.

Next come the Kalynas on the tape. She stops the tape and asks, "What does it say that Mr. Kalyna does?" She shows the study print as well in which Mr. Kalyna is talking on the telephone in his office. Katherine decides that his work involves "Checking papers to see if they're done right or not." However, Erika says that "Mr. Kalyna has something to do with hospitals."

There is another interruption when the principal comes in to wish the class a Happy Easter. He tells them all "to blow very hard and maybe by the time we get back to school again it will be all dry." Some people begin to blow.

Merle continues the discussion on the Kalyna family. Someone recalls that Mrs. Kalyna works in a library. "As a library aide," adds Merle. At the back table, David approaches me and asks, "When is it home time? Is it when the big handle is at twelve?" Quickly I draw a clock face and show him that at 3:30 it will be time to leave.

Meanwhile, Merle has started the tape again. This time it is the Katos' turn. She stops the tape and checks the comprehension which is poor because of the inattention and the poor sound quality. She replays the segment, and then provides a definition of what "housing manager" means. She uses the example that if she had to go away, she would call a "housing manager" to look after the plumbing, furnace, and the water system. Then she displays the study print of Mr. Kato in his office at home. Mrs. Kato, who does not have an outside job, nevertheless spends a great deal of time "driving family members to lessons and practices." Merle indicates that although Mr. Kato works at home, he also has to tend to things that take him away from home.

The final portion of the tape describing the Browns' work is then played. During Merle's probing after the story is finished, Roddy guesses that Mrs. Brown "is a person who takes care of kids--probably in a day care centre." But although Merle says that is a "good guess" by Roddy, Doug says, "Nah, she's a teacher of grade one!" Merle plays the portion of tape again. It is difficult to hear the discussion after that because Sherman, David, and Charlie have made whistles out of interlocking blocks. When told by Merle to put the blocks away, the boys ignore her. Alice and Katherine are kneeling down in front of Merle, straining to hear the tape. Merle adds the occupations of each of the people who worked in the families to the group charts.

Before concluding the activity on what Canadian families do outside the home, in terms of earning money to support the family, Merle takes a poll within the class to see how many people work outside the home to earn money for the family. She counts the raised hands and says, "Ten, that's almost half this class." However, Charlie, Matt, Kitty, and Carol are still around the table at the back and are indifferent to what she is saying at the front of the room.

At 3:12 P.M. the social studies lesson ends. Merle announces that it is clean up time. "All crayons have to be picked up and put away before I finish counting from 1 to 25." A frenzy breaks loose! The excitement--I cannot believe my eyes! The electricity in the air as they rush about the room proves too much for Jennifer who sits down in her desk and swivels her head from side to side. Meanwhile, Merle keeps on counting, from 26 to 50 as she sets the next task of "picking up papers, straightening out the room." After the accelerated cleaning, Merle starts counting stars. When she looks in her desk, she asks me to make some more copies of the Good Guy Badges. However, when I dash into the room at 3:25 P.M. with a stack of badges, Merle has decided to postpone the star distribution until after the spring break. The remaining time is spent handing out large paper bags for the work that they are taking home. I am set to work pinning on the badges with bonus stars for

Carol, Doug, and David.

As the children file past Merle, who is standing near the door, she gives each of them an Easter treat. Dick, surprisingly, comes up and asks for help politely. His "liners" have to be replaced inside his boots. In the hallway I see two people waiting to see Merle. Another woman is talking to her in the room. The woman seems to be picking up things for her child. It is probably Judy's mother, for Judy is absent. When the woman leaves, the two people walk into the room. I slip in to get my handbag. I had hoped to ask Merle if I could take the family folders home over the spring break. However, she is far too busy with parent interviews for me to bother her, except to wish her "Happy Easter."

"Free to Be. . . You and Me"[1]

There's a land that I see
Where the children are free
And I say it ain't far
To this land, from where we are.

Take my hand. Come with me,
Where the children are free.
Come with me, take my hand,
And we'll live. . .

In a land
Where the river runs free--
(In a land)
Through the green country--
To a shining sea.

And you and me
Are free to be
You and me.

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[1] Words for the song, "Free to Be. . . You and Me," were taken from the book, Free to Be. . . You and Me, that was conceived by Marlo Thomas, developed and edited by C. Hart, L.C. Pogrebin, M. Rogers, and Marlo Thomas. New York: Ms Foundation Inc., McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974.

I see a land, bright and clear,
And the time's coming near,
When we'll live in this land,
You and me, hand-in-hand.

Take my hand. Come along,
Lend your voice to my song.
Come along. Take my hand,
Sing a song. . .

April 8, 1980

Having fun together and alone. After the spring break I am ready to start a new round of observations. In the classroom, after recess, Merle sits on the step stool in front of the room and the children are seated in their desks. When I enter the classroom, they are talking about what kinds of fun they and their families had during the spring break. Since Merle and her daughter had visited Disneyland, she is sharing with the class some booklets and pictures showing the places they had visited. According to Merle, earlier in the day, they had been talking and writing stories about what kinds of fun they and their families had had during the recent school holiday. Merle asks the children if any of them had gone to any place "special" during the break. Terri talks briefly about taking the train to Winnipeg, and Elmer describes a "scary show" that he and his family had attended.

At 2:30 P.M., Merle begins a whole class discussion of some things that "you and your family, alone or together, do to have fun." Hands fly up into the air, as the children are anxious to participate. First, to be called, Judy, speaking in a quiet, almost inaudible voice, relates a story about what happened at Easter. She mentions "eating chocolate, and two grandmas came over." Matt, showing signs of restlessness, leaves his desk and walks across to the cubbyholes where he deposits a book. Then, instead of going back to his desk, he tries to engage me in conversation about "ice fishing." When I suggest that he return to his desk, he slides along the floor on his stomach until he comes near David's desk where he lies, looking at something in the cupboards. Charlie, talking to David behind him, is led by Merle to the desk at the front of the room. Merle then asks Sheila to describe the kind of fun her family had had. Sheila whispers something about "riding a bike," and then Rosie states that she had "played with dolls and other toys" during the holidays. Carol, whose hand has been waving insistently, is given a chance to say something. However, after a promising beginning, "You can go. . ." she falters and can't think of a suitable ending. Betty completes the sentence by saying, "You can go swimming in your indoor pool." This prompts quiet Adam to say that "In summer, you can go swimming to the Commonwealth Games Pool." Sherman, whose responses are usually quite interesting, contributes the idea that "A family can play cards together, just like me, my sister, my mother, and my grandmother do." Terri tells a story about "visiting a zoo and getting locked in when the gates closed." "A visit to Fort Edmonton" is Katherine's contribution to the discussion of how her family has fun together. Erika describes how her family had "travelled to Vancouver by car, then we took a ferry across the ocean where we went to a big carnival."

By this time, the children, extremely restless, are squirming and talking to their neighbors behind them. So Merle switches the topic over to "winter fun" and reminds the children of the bulletin board outside the classroom where they had displayed their drawings of winter fun after their Christmas break. "Close your eyes," Merle says, "and make a switch in your minds from summer to winter outside. Try to remember some of the fun things you can do in winter." David's hand shoots up. "You can go swimming in the Commonwealth Pool." After Merle repeats the instructions to think about winter fun, Judy suggests "sledding," which leads the class to recall other "s" words--skating, sliding, snowmen, snowforts, skidooing--that had been part of the bulletin board display.

"Now make another switch in your heads, back to summer and the kinds of fun that you and your family can have in summer," Merle directs as the children shut their eyes and try to "make a picture." "You can ride a bike," says Terri quickly. "Take walks in the ravine," contributes Adam, and Roddy adds, "Go swimming in my big plastic swimming pool in the yard." Sherman, however, suggests, "We can cut the grass on the lawn," to which Merle responds, "Cutting grass is work, not play, although sometimes work can be like play." "It's still fun to do," mutters Sherman, drawing his knees up to his chin in his favorite seating position. Merle is delighted with Doug's bright idea of "going camping together." Charlie's "walk," however, draws minimal attention because Merle has to deal with Matt's sudden appearance at the front. Matt, clutching his genitals, asks to go to the bathroom.

At 2:45 P.M. Merle begins another activity. This time, she explains she will give them each a sheet of paper on which they are to draw a picture of what they guess the family in their group likes to do for fun. After writing their name on the sheet, they are to "draw what you think that family does together for fun." When the paper is distributed, the pencil search begins. I walk around the room, observing what they are drawing. David has decided to draw a swimming pool (round circle), and when I ask him where he will draw the family members--inside the pool or diving or swimming--his reply indicates that it is his family, not that of the group, that he is thinking of as swimming. What he wants to know is "How do you draw a diving board?"

Just then, Merle says, "Pencils down." David keep on drawing as she issues the next set of instructions. She wants them to think about "what you can do by yourself" to have fun. "Swimming," responds Alice. Doug, after thinking a few moments, remembers that his mother goes "jogging" sometimes. Merle suggests a host of possibilities as she poses the question: "Do you know anybody who plays racquet ball?. . goes mountain climbing?. . hunting?. . [hands shoot up]. . takes pictures? [hands up again]. . canoeing?. . who sews? ["Oh!" and hands up]. . who decorates cakes?. . [some hands up]. . crochets? knits? [more hands up]. . gardens? collects stamps? [hands up and a cry, "I do!"]. . collects coins? [more hands up]. Finally, Merle asks, "Were any of the things I mentioned some of the kinds of things you do for fun?" "I collect coins," says Betty. "Yes," Merle responds, "that's something that both grownups and children can do. Where do you get your coins, Betty?" Betty, puzzled, replies, "I don't know, from friends, I guess." Trish's hand has been waving wildly and she says, "I collect marbles." "Marbles, too, can be collected and some people collect comic books," adds Merle.

"Okay. Turn your page over. Choose some member of your family group, from the group family, and draw that person doing something for fun alone. Do it quickly. We don't have much time left before library. This is just so you don't forget your ideas. We'll talk more about it tomorrow." Some of the children begin the second sketch; most, however, are still completing the first drawing and some are coloring it.

When we leave for the library, Jennifer rushes over to seize my hand

and Dick grabs my other one. Doug, a bit slower, also wants to be my "partner," but I assure him he can walk back with me from the library. In contrast to Dick's unusually good behavior, Jennifer "slips" and slides her way down the long hallway. In the library, Dick snuggles close to me, making his strange noises again. However, as the librarian announces that the story is about a boy living in an unusual house where everything is electrically operated, Dick shoots up and moves to join the rest in the circle. However, as Betty inches her way to my side, Dick retaliates by shredding her plastic book bag. After the story, Dick plays around in the carrels where he manipulates the individual viewers. I tell him he will be able to use them when he is in the bigger grades. "I won't be here, next year," he replies.

After the story, Doug disappears, so Betty, clinging to my hand, becomes my partner on the walk back. At the water fountain we meet Doug taking one of his "camel" drinks. In the classroom, Merle is handing out the Good Guy Badges that she had postponed giving on that last hectic day before spring break. "Clean up time and then get ready for home," Merle announces. Things are running more smoothly, I think, when suddenly, Faye, who rides the bus, returns from the hallway. She is missing a boot. "Is losing a boot an everyday event in this classroom?" asks the music teacher who is standing and looking amused as the whole hallway goes into an uproar. The boot is found at last, hanging from the clothesline above the hallway bench. Nobody had thought to look up during the search. When the music teacher and Merle begin to discuss some names on a list, I leave for home.

April 9, 1980

Families having fun. The room is in its usual interrupted state when I enter just before the second period after noon. Assuming that Merle has taken some time from her math period to lead the children to their music class, I take advantage of their absence to study changes in the room. One of the bulletin boards has been moved to the west chalkboard and holds the stories that the children have composed about their fun during the spring break. On the bulletin board in one corner is a mini-display showing a list of the parts of a newspaper mounted on an actual newspaper sheet. The children are learning to write "news stories" about events from their own personal experiences. Nearby are posted two letters from parents. One states that Betty, whose parents are recent emigrants from the Philippines, will be wearing a "Scottish" costume; the other states that Roddy will be coming as a "cowboy" to the school's spring concert in April. The message to parents had been to cooperate by supplying "some type of costume representing an ethnic group" because the theme for the concert was a focus on Alberta's 75th birthday and on Alberta's multicultural heritage.

Something about the atmosphere in the room and the outside hallway makes me think that this is an unusual departure from the customary schedule of events in the afternoon. As I proceed to investigate, I find that all the grade one classrooms in that wing are vacant. The kindergarten aide informs me that they are all having a music practice for the concert in the music room. Midway to the music room, I meet Merle and the other grade one teachers leading their students back to the rooms. Merle whispers to me, "We are now going to have daily one-hour practices for the concert, so we'll have to do some re-arranging of time schedules."

As the children dress for recess, I ask Merle why Alice has a bandage on her knee and is limping. Oh, that!" Merle replies as she straightens out her desk. "Alice skinned her knee when Dick pushed her on the playground at noon. But it has been a very interesting morning in other ways, too. Did you know that Kitty cut Jennifer's hair on that last day before school break?" I look startled, so Merle goes on, "Apparently, it happened some time that day. I noticed Jennifer crying but that's so common, I paid little attention. Well, Kitty cut through most of one of Jennifer's braids, so her mother had to take her to a hairdresser to get the rest cut off. Was she ever furious!"

In the staff room at recess, the grade one teachers and the music teacher are discussing time schedules for the practices. Merle seats herself beside me at the table. On a piece of paper she has written the re-scheduled times for afternoon classes. "I don't know where I'll get the extra hour for daily practice," she says, then laughs. "The other grade one teachers are just dropping social studies." She pauses. My heart drops. "But I don't think that would be fair to you. . . nor to me. I'd like to finish what we started, anyway. So I've worked something out. But I'd like to change the times a bit. Do you mind?" These are the changes in timetabling that she proposed:

Monday : Social studies at 1:03 P.M. to 2:03 P.M.
Tuesday : " " " 1:03 P.M. to 1:33 P.M.
Wednesday: " " " 2:23 P.M. to 3:30 P.M.
Thursday : " " " 1:03 P.M. to 2:03 P.M.
Friday : No social studies

When we enter the classroom after recess, Merle turns off the lights, then announces that she wants to "talk" with Kitty and Jennifer in the hallway while the rest of the class play King and Queen of Silence.

Needless to say, the novelty of the game, which continues to appeal to some of the naturally more quiet students, has long worn off for those like David who like to attract attention. As the game goes on, the behavior melts into giggles, then gets more boisterous when David begins to show his "tricks." Even normally quiet Betty can no longer restrain her giggles. So, when Judy chooses her to be Queen, she has the decency to look surprised. The others protest--loudly. When Merle walks into the room, Carol and others complain, but Merle ends the discussion firmly by saying, "I find it hard to believe that Betty was not quiet. Betty is _always_ quiet!"

At 2:35 P.M. the social studies lesson begins when Merle walks over to the Master Chart and indicates the new concept--"Fun"--which is to guide their research activities this day. Beneath the orange-colored Fun, she has printed the two "little questions" taken from Activity 7 in the teacher's guide: "What kinds of fun does this family have together?" "What kinds of fun do they have alone?"

However, before beginning the group work activity, there is the matter of rotating group leadership which has become a continuing problem once the seating arrangement was altered and the system of "going down the row" broke down. At one point, as the angry voices keep being raised in argument, Merle comments, "I should have written these down. But I didn't do that. I didn't realize that so many of you were going to move. . ."

Finally, the group leaders are selected and Merle begins her instructions for the group work exercise. She starts by reminding them of the good ideas about family fun that they had drawn the day before. As the group discusses these ideas, Merle suggests to the group leaders that their group should try to decide on whose idea to use. Their decision should be based on the need to let everybody have a chance to contribute ideas. She reviews her discussion and demonstration of group decision making by asking such questions as: "How are you going to find out, in your group, what everybody's ideas are?" "Is there another way you can make a decision besides just the leader choosing?" During this rather lengthy discussion, the following exchange occurs:

Alice: [inaudible]
Merle: The what?
Alice [repeats but still inaudible as the room is noisy]
Merle: The person will choose the quietest? Sometimes I do that, don't I?. . . Well, you might think about whose ideas have never been used before. Look at the whole chart [points to one of the charts and makes a sweeping motion with her hand], and you look at the 'House' and the 'Food' and the 'Job'. . . Whose ideas have been used before? in your group?. . . . . . . I don't want you to tell me right now, but you look at it. . .[lifts chart papers] . . . and find out whether there's somebody whose ideas have never been used. . . and maybe you can make that person feel better, you'll want to use that person's ideas this time. . . Now, is there any other way you can decide?

In spite of her determined efforts to lead them to an understanding of group rather than individual decision making by the leader, Doug, when asked how he as group leader would decide whose ideas to use, replies, "Uh, I pick one. . ." Likewise, Terri answers, "I'd do the same as Doug done." Reluctantly, after frequent trips to the star chart and a cascade of falling stars, Merle, herself, brings up the voting procedure which is washed away on a wave of noise.

Turning to the instructions about the tasks for the group, Merle asks them to think of two pictures, one showing "the kind of fun the family has together," and the other "the kind of fun one person in that family has by himself or herself." She returns their drawings of "ideas" for them to use when hypothesizing about family fun in their groups.

Then, before the group work begins, she sums up the three tasks for each group, which include printing the word "Fun" on the chart and deciding and drawing the two types of family fun.

The next four minutes are spent finding the spot, arguing, sorting out, and "acting out." In exasperation, I turn off the recorder and just "observe" the groups. In Group 5, David, whose term as leader had been aborted during the contentious selection process, is busy sniffing the fragrance of the soap bar at the sink. I take it away from him, and before putting it away, sniff it myself--a pleasant fragrance! David, watching closely, smiles as I replace it in the soap dish from where it is immediately snatched by Charlie who sniffs it vigorously. Rosie, the lone task-oriented member of the group, tries desperately to rally them to her side. As leader, she has decided that the "eeny, meeny, miny moe" approach is what she will use to decide whose ideas will be placed on the chart. "Eeny, meeny, miny moe," she chants as I move over to Group 1.

Group 1 seems short of members today. Only Doug and Judy have found a spot in the boys' cloakroom. Neither Sherman nor Sheila have joined the group. They have remained seated in their desks. "Why aren't you in your group, Sherman?" I inquire. "No way," says Sherman emphatically. "I'm not going in there. It might be wet." Before I can ask Sheila her reasons for abstaining from group participation, my attention is diverted by developments in Group 4 nearby. From what I can overhear, the group members are still not sure what they have to do. However, just as I am about to move into that troubled combat zone, Merle announces that the groups have to finish their pictures of what they think the family does for fun. Turning back to Group 5, I ask, "Have you finished your pictures?" Each group member is doing his or her own thing. Matt, for example, is coloring something under the table.

I join the assembled group on the carpet, carrying my concealed tape recorder in my handbag with only the microphone protruding like a periscope. To my astonishment, I hear Merle say that after listening to what Mighty Moose has to say about the families having fun, they are to return to their charts to draw more pictures of the family "really" having fun. I wonder if I'll have the stamina to survive this marathon group research session!

Merle stops the tape just after the visit to the Morin family where they have described the many things they do for fun. Through questioning, the children recall the family get-together at the farm where the Morin family and their relatives go camping, golfing, horseback riding, and playing baseball. Using the study prints as a focus, the children note the individual recreational activities enjoyed by family members: looking through a French comic magazine, reading, and playing the piano. The other study print shows the Morin family walking in the ravine. To supplement the data in the pictures and what the children can recall from the tape, Merle reads portions of the tape transcript from the Appendix in the teacher's guide which lies open on her lap. Other activities include sewing, taking pictures, Brownies, swimming, watching TV, playing ball, and skipping.

Moving to the Brown family segment of the tape, Merle repeats the above procedure, combining student recall and study print analysis, with extensions and clarifications of content from the transcript. Although there are growing signs of restlessness, the children are able to recall an enormous amount of detail: swimming and skating, crocheting and macrame [contributed by Merle who then shows the study print of Mrs. Brown and her macrame], sewing, dancing, traveling. The children are amused to see the father, Mr. Brown, dancing with the dog, and Terri, listening intently, is able to recall Grandma Brown's travels.

By the time the Steinhauer portion is played, several children have lost stars, and at one point, Merle enlists Dick's aid in removing some stars for others' misbehavior only to have Dick's behavior deteriorate from then on. With such disruptions, attention to the recall discussion is difficult. Nevertheless, some children are able to contribute the following ways the Steinhauer family has fun: riding bikes and motorbikes, collecting stamps, camping holidays, and playing ball. The children express surprise when they hear Merle say that even the handicapped girl, Carrie, can swim and do beadwork and put puzzles together. Reading from the transcript, Merle adds: bowling, playing pinball, and watching television. When she tries to expand on the concept of "fun rules" and how they are enforced at the Steinhauer home--"be home by 9:00 or 9:30 P.M. and in bed by 10:00," her efforts are short-circuited by Dick's antics.

Determined to forge ahead with the stated plans, Merle is about to play the Kalyna portion of the tape, when she discovers that they have not looked at the study prints for the Steinhauer family's fun. Instead of listening to the tape, they examine the prints of the family watching television, playing baseball, and rising motorbikes (with the family's tent trailer in the background). Merle's stated objectives at the beginning of the lesson undergo further revision when she decides that in the remaining time they will examine the study prints for the Kalynas and the Katos. For the Kalynas, the study print shows the family reading in the livingroom, playing a game, and the girls riding their bicycles. As the time runs out, Merle turns to the Kato study prints and says:

> "I knew we were going to have a picture like this, I remember that in the yard of the picture of the Kato's house, there was a picture of their camper. . . [in the background, someone is still whispering about 'stars'] so I knew that they would like to go. . camping. . and playing a card game. . playing a piano. . . Aaahh! all those requests to go to the bathroom, Carol, when we come, when we get out of music, before we go to, for recess. . ."
>
> A voice that sounds like Carol's protests, "But I did!" as Merle continues, "that's the time to use the bathroom."

Before the children leave for home, they are asked to "pile their math books on the back table, place their phonics books on a separate pile, return their readers to the storage area, put unfinished work in the unfinished work basket, and put finished work that needs marking in the marking basket." Alone with Merle after school, I am told that she has not had time to look ahead, but she wonders if the group work activities are almost over. When I tell her that one more concept remains --tradition--she comments that the kit could actually be started right after Christmas and just carried right through to the end of the year since it also deals with aspects of family life generally, in addition to its cultural content. "A teacher would have to extend it a bit in places by bringing in more emphasis on the children's own families," she says. I ask her if I can take the children's family booklets home next day for the long week-end since there is no social studies on Friday in the re-scheduled timetable. After a moment's pause, she says, "Yes, I guess they have done quite a bit already. Except for the maps on the outside bulletin board and the charts, there should be quite a bit in the booklets already."

April 10, 1980

Researching and recording data about family fun. This afternoon, as I enter the classroom after the lunch hour is over, I sense a determination by Merle to enforce rules. It is evident in her statement that anybody who comes late will lose a star and also in her review of playground rules. When she looks through the contents of Kanata Kit 1 and then carries the teacher's guide, the puppet, and a set of study prints to the carpet and seats herself on a low stool, I wonder what is going to transpire during the next hour.

After the children, who have been called to the carpet by rows, are seated, she resumes playing the tape of family fun at the spot where it had been terminated during the last lesson. The following is a transcript of the recorded events, beginning with the discussion which follows after they have listened to the Kalyna family's fun on tape:

Merle: Okay. How did the Kalynas have fun? [Noisy as I place the microphone inside my bag with the end protruding.]
Terri: [recites a long list of things, but inaudible]
Merle: Yes...Yes...[interspersed between Terri's recall which is difficult to transcribe because Matt is playing with the chain and hook attachment on the easel near the tape-recorder. He ignores my suggestion that he pay attention.] Boy, Terri, you really have a good memory! Can you add to that, Sheila?
Sheila: [inaudible]
Merle: Yes, that's right....Alice?
Alice: Uhhh...[inaudible]
Merle: Sssshhhhh!......
Whose restaurant do you think it is?
Alice: Their grandfather's.
Merle: Yes, Grandfather Kalyna has a restaurant. It must be fun to just drop into the restaurant, order what you want, and maybe....
Voice: Maybe you don't have to pay for it.
Merle: But there must be times when you'd have to help out, working in the restaurant. . .
[scraping and squeaking sounds]
Rosie?
Rosie: They go. . bicycle riding.
Merle: Yes, they ride their bikes. . Alice?. . . and they play tag, right. You really have good memories today. . .

Voice: I know!

Merle: Uhh. .Terri?

Terri: Play frisbee?

Merle: They do, they play frisbee. . Would the rest of you come over here. . .

[Some of the children are playing near the edges of the carpet, their backs to the group. Carol enters the room and sits at her desk.]

. . . And by the way, Carol, you have lost. . . a star for being late. You've got to be here on time. Will you join us on the carpet, all those people who aren't here. . . .

[Carol sits on the carpet near me and shows me her scraped knee. 'I was in the nurse's office,' she whispers.]

. . . Okay, and they also, when they go to visit their grandpa and grandma, they watch TV and just talk. . . go for rides. . . [speaks in loud voice] Everybody on the carpet! Please. . no books! I'm really tired of this and I will be taking stars, right away. . Doug?

Doug: They go on the carpet, and they play. . . [inaudible], and they listen to a big collection of records.

Merle: Very good! And they also like to walk. Okay, now we're going to the Kato house. [starts tape up again and plays portion where Katos have fun. At the easel, Matt has been joined by David and Dick who play with the chains and supports. I move away from noisy spot with my recorder. Carol silently slides along the carpet and sticks to my side. Merle stops the tape at the end of the last section, shuffles through study prints in her lap until she finds the right pictures]

Voice: [sounds like Terri] I know! It's row 4.

Merle: This is the row. . 4s.

[Crackling sounds on tape as Katherine moves closer to where I am and sits down on top of the microphone. Merle looks at boys playing at the easel.]

All right, boys. Out from under there, please! Go to your desks and sit down. . .

Matt: Come on, David!

Merle: Matt, David, Dick, would you please sit down in your desks and put your head down.

Matt: Come on, David!

Merle: We're almost finished. . . Okay. What do the Kato's do for fun?

Voice: I know! [inaudible]

Merle: Betty?

Betty: Uhh... [inaudible]...

[Betty has been one of those writing on a rock and not paying attention.]

Voice: [sharply] Dick!!!

[Many voice talking but inaudible]

Merle: Daniel....in the livingroom. Okay, what else does he do.... Sherman?

Sherman: Uhhh....Daniel likes to....uhh....he likes to....uhh....go to the skating rink.

[Crackling sounds]

Merle: Where do they go? [inaudible].....

Voice: I know!

[David and Charlie, instead of sitting in their desks, have slipped down onto the floor and are sliding around on the floor near the desks.]

Merle: ....Sheila?

Sheila: [inaudible]

Merle: What do they do for [inaudible] space?

[speaking quickly and sharply] Okay, David! Go sit in your own desk, and put your head down. Charlie, you too! And Dick, you too! [waits] .... Betty, could you go take a star from each of the boys?...... [Betty goes to chart after getting her pencil from the desk.]

Terri. Terri has a good memory. See how many things she can remember.

Terri: [inaudible].....one of the girls, she's going to be a figure skater and the next [inaudible]

Merle: Boys, you just lost one star for not sitting the way you were supposed to do. [David and Charlie are out of their desks and sliding on the floor.]

If you don't sit now, you'll lose another star. Put your head down....

[Loud crackling sounds drown out her words.]

Terri.....

Terri: [continues long recitation of what she has recalled from the tape but too many voices and noises to transcribe]........

Merle: Sssshhh!.... [interrupts Terri].... Okay let's have somebody else have a turn......Katherine?

Katherine: They went to a hotsprings. I was there.

Merle: You go to a hotsprings too? [Voices of other children: 'I was there!' 'My family goes!' 'So did I!']

Voice: We went to Jasper!

Merle: There's more than one hotsprings in the mountains. There's one near Jasper. That's one of them. . .

[Voices very excited, but Merle raises her voice above the noise.] Do you remember why they, they liked to go to the hotsprings? What does it remind them of?

. . .

Voice: Uhh!

Merle: Alice?

Alice: [inaudible]

Merle: No, it reminds them of someplace else. . . .

Voice: In Japan!

Merle: . .in Japan there are hotsprings.

Voice: I know what we'll do on Saturday. . .

Merle: Ssssshhhh!. . . Do you?

Voice: Yup!

Merle: . . . when you go on your trip?

Voice: Yeah!

Merle: Sssshhhhh!. . . Remember some more?. . .

What does Mrs. Kato do? Do you remember her saying what she did? Mighty Moose was asking [Someone farts.] . . . what some things were because he didn't know what to call them?. . .

[Giggling]

Sssshhhh! [looks meaningfully at child] You're excused . . . [Boy starts to leave] . . .
. . No, I don't mean leave, I means you're pardoned. . .
Rosie? [Boy sits down.]
[Giggling continues]

Rosie: She liked to pull up weeds.

Merle: Sssshhh! She liked to pull weeds, yes. What else?. . . Kitty, do you have any ideas? [Kitty is one of the girls rubbing a pencil against the rock in the palm of her hand.] Isn't that your row? The Kato family is the one you have to do the chart for?

Voice: Kitty is not in that row?

Merle: Yes, she's in row 4 as far as doing the work. . . aren't you? What is Mrs. Kato doing?

Voice: [insistent] She's in row 3!

Elmer: Teacher!

Merle: What does Mrs. Kato do, for her hobbies?
[Giggling]. . . . [Merle snaps fingers]
. . .

Voice: I know! I know!

Merle: What?

Terri: She takes her little girls figure skating.

Merle: Well. . . yes, she does that, but she does some things when nobody's home, or when. . . when people are doing something else. . .
Whispers in the background . . . Alice?

Alice: She. . uhh. . [inaudible] something?

Voice: I know!

Merle: . . She said something very definitely that she. .paints, she paints oil paintings, and something else, and it's called 'origami' which is a kind of paper folding. .and she also makes dolls. . . Sssssshhhhh!. . . . .

Voice: My mother makes dolls!

Merle: Does she? How does she make them?. . .

Voice: She makes model dolls. . .[inaudible] she makes dresses for her, and then she takes a [inaudible] and she put a [inaudible] . .

Merle: Oh, really?. .
[Another voice says her mother also makes dolls]
. . .And sometimes, what do they do, inside?

Voice: I know!

Merle: . . . Somebody in row 4 or in group 4. .like Kitty, or Trish, or Betty, people who are going to have to do this. . .

Voice: Or Trish. . .

Merle: . .Ssssshhhhh! What do they do inside?
Sssssssssshhhhhhhh!. . . . .
Somebody else help them?. . . Katherine?

Katherine: They watch TV.
[Somebody whispers, 'Hide it!']

Merle: Yes, they watch TV, where's the TV in their house. . .

Voice: Ah!

Merle: Terri?

Terri: In their kitchen.

Merle: In their kitchen, that's right. And then they go to space movies. That's where Daniel likes to, gets to see the space things. And they travel . . . to?. . .

Voice: Japan.

Merle: . .Japan. Why is it, why do they want them to travel to Japan?. . . Elmer?

Elmer: [not paying attention]. .Uhh. . . .

Merle [prompts]....Why is it important?

Elmer: [groping] 'Cause some of the things are.....

Merle: What kinds of things?. . . Alice?

Alice: Their relatives.

Merle: Their relatives. It is important to see their relatives. What other reasons?. . Sherman?

Sherman: Uhh. . so they can speak more Japan.

Merle: Yes, so they can get more practice speaking . . Japanese.

Voice: I know!

Merle: Matt, do you . .do you ever travel someplace where everybody speaks French?

Matt: Yeah! I travel with my grandma and my grandpa and she, she speaks French!

Merle: And when you go to the store there, does every. .do the people in the store speak French too?

Matt: Yah.

Merle: Yah. That's important, isn't it, that you not forget, because you go to a school where you don't speak French, and most of your friends do not speak French. . .

Voice: I do!

Merle: . . so it's important that you have some times when you do have to use your French. . . .
[Voices in the background]
. . . and it's important that. . . .Ssssssshh!
The Kalyna children go to a school where everyone speaks Ukrainian. . . But, the Kato children speak English at school, and, so it's important to their family, their parents, that they go someplace [noise level is rising] where they can get more practice speaking Japanese. . .
Yes?. . Sherman?

Sherman: My father, uhh, he. . he speaks that. . uhhh something that. .

Merle: [inaudible]

Sherman: . . . [inaudible]. . . Ukrainian.

Merle: Ukrainian. . . Okay. Charlie. . .
[Charlie looks startled. He has been walking around at the back.]
Is your dad teaching you to speak Greek? Can you speak Greek? a little bit?

Charlie: [nods]

Merle: . ,and have you been able to go visit your relatives in Greece?

Charlie: No.

Merle: That will be something, you'll learn. . .

Charlie: I am going to go when my auntie and uncle go.

Merle: Ahh. . . David, what language do your grandparents speak? What do they speak?

David: [screws up his face, thinks] Uhhh, French?

Merle: Do they?

David: My grandma. .my 'kokom' [? is that Cree for grandmother?] and my mom and my dad and my sisters, they go to my grandmother's. . .

Merle: Can you speak French too?. . . Sometimes, when you go visit, do you have to speak French too?

David: [uncertain]. . Huh? When it's winter. . .

Merle: And let's see. . . Erika. Is anybody at home teaching you to speak German? . .

Erika: My mother is teaching me a little bit of German after school.

Merle: Have you ever gone visiting some place where everybody spoke German, and you had to speak German or else you couldn't make yourself understood?

Erika: [inaudible]. . back to Germany.

Merle: Well, maybe you can go again. So that you can. .there are some people I know. . uhh. . the children go to school on Saturdays to. . uhh, learn their language. You know, your music teacher's daughter, who is about your age, I think she might be in grade one or in, maybe she's in grade two, she goes to Saturday school to learn German.

Erika: Teacher, once we went to church and we went to Sunday school and they were teaching us different languages. .

Merle: Uh hm. . anyway, guess what we're gonna have to do now. . .

Katherine: I can speak Polish!

Merle: . . . we've listened to the tape, we've looked at the pictures [voices in background]. . what are we going to do now?

Rosie: I speak half. .uhh. . I speak half. . uhhh. .English and. . Irish.

Merle: Irish? In Ireland. . [interrupted when someone hands her something]. . Thanks. . . What are we going to do now? We've listened to your tape and we've looked at your pictures. What do you think is going to happen, what we're going to have to do now?. .

Matt: [pulling puppets out of a shopping bag lying on the carpet] Puppets. .

Merle: Erika?

Erika: You have to put down what. .really happened.

Merle: Yep! You have to put down what you found out.

Esther: Yeah, but we already got one right! We'll write another one down, now we've got one right. [in her group, one of their hypotheses was correct]

After the stimulating discussion ends, their interest is dampened somewhat by the prolonged argument over who the group leader will be that day. After that is settled, Merle reviews the tasks in terms of the pictures they have to draw under the "What We Found Out" column. Patiently, she repeats the instructions:

Merle: Okay. One kind of fun. .David, listen, you're group leader. .One kind of fun that the family does together. . Something that the family does together. . Something that the family does together. .David? What are the two pictures that you have to do?
David: Uhh. . you gotta. .uhh, draw pictures. .
Merle: Okay, but what kind of pictures are they going to be?
David: Of families. . [inaudible]
Merle: Okay. .something that they can do together, and then something, that second picture has to be something that one person in the family does by himself or herself. . .

The group work activity begins at 1:30 P.M. and is over by 1:50 P.M. I decide to join David's group, made up of David, Charlie, Rosie, and Katherine (who is away most of the time in the bathroom, and when she rejoins the group, she pouts because she has nothing to do). David is full of his own importance because he is leader at last! "Okay, you guys," he says. "I'm the boss! You gotta listen to me, 'cause I'm the boss!" I wait for him to start leading, even assigning people to do some work, but he just holds onto the symbol of office, the crayon box, and slides the crayons in and out. Finally, I ask, "What are the jobs, David?" "I dunno," he grins. Rosie prompts, "You're supposed to let us choose." "Oh, yeah," says David, proffering the crayon box while maintaining a firm grip on it, "all right, choose. Which color do you want?" Rosie takes a while to decide, then takes one, then David lets Charlie choose a crayon. After three false starts, David selects one for himself and sets to work coloring some of the old pictures on the chart.

"There are new jobs to do, David," I remind him. "There are pictures to draw." "Okay, Rosie," orders David, "draw a picture." "No," says Rosie, firmly, "we're supposed to talk about our ideas first." When I question David about the kinds of pictures that are to be drawn, he doesn't have the vaguest idea. Finally, I tell the group that the first picture is supposed to be what the family does together for fun. I ask them if they remember some of the things from the tape and the picture. "We don't got the picture," somebody says. Rosie goes to get the Kalyna study prints, while I try to get David to lead a discussion. But he is too busy coloring. Rosie offers to draw the "pick-up-sticks" game the Kalyna family is playing in the livingroom as shown on the study print. Charlie says he'll draw the bikes, the second picture on the study prints, but Matt insists that he wants to draw the bikes. David reassures Charlie that "the next time I'm boss I'll pick you to draw bike riding." However, David discovers that he doesn't have a fun thing to draw. In this group there are no choices--everybody or nobody. David decides to draw a book for reading. By this time, Katherine has returned to the group. "When's my turn?" she asks. Before she can draw the picture of "riding in a car," Merle announces that time is up. Group 5 continues to work.

Meanwhile, Merle is hanging the charts up above the side chalkboard and has asked two rows to turn their desks to face the chalkboard. When I urge Group 5 to finish, David flings his crayons down, rushes to his desk, and turns it noisily. Group 3, also, is not finished, for Roddy and Elmer are lying on their stomachs beneath the table. Roddy drops his crayons, then kicks them under the teacher's desk as he rushes to join the rest of the class.

The rest of the period is spent discussing what each group has recorded on the charts since the start of the grouping activity, beginning with the first concept. Someone is selected from each group to "read" what has been recorded, with the assistance of other members of the group.

At least that is the intention, but they only get through the first chart on the Morin family. By this time, the children are very restless and in need of a washroom break.

When the activity is over at 2:00 P.M., I ask Merle for the student family booklets which she indicates are somewhere around her desk but need sorting out. "Actually, we've done quite a bit so far. I don't know why I feel so defensive about it." But she has little time to talk because she has to make some phone calls. "I've asked for a transfer, you know. I find it hard to get going on that [phoning]. I know I have to do it, but I can't seem to get started. After all, I applied for this school and got it last year. I know there's no room for me here next year, but I like this school!" She is a "surplus teacher." Just then someone runs in and says that there is screaming in the washroom. Merle whirls around and runs down the hallway.

I walk into the room after the children leave for recess and do some straightening up. After recess, the children leave for music practice, and I stay in the room to remove the pictures from the bulletin board. The grade one teachers take turns supervising the combined classes of grade one so that the rest will still have 'prep' time. One of the grade one teachers and her student teacher are putting up a display of student art work in the hallway. It is an attractive, standardized art product, most of which had been done ahead of time by the teacher and her assistant while the coloring was left to the students.

April 14, 1980

A very busy, full afternoon. The social studies double-period begins with a continuation of the review of chart work from the previous day. Four more groups are left to do their "reporting," which is tape recorded and very lengthy. Interesting anecdotes and exchanges have been excerpted from each group's review. During the Brown family chart review, Merle tries to read what had been written under Family Fun in the "What We Found Out" column:

Merle: . .and. . [tries to read word]. .What's this one?. .woll?
. . ur. .walk?. . . .
[Voices call out: 'Walk!']
Terri: Wool!
Merle: Wool? [puzzled] . . Do you know what that means?
[in terms of the topic of family fun]
Voice: [insistent] Wooling! Wooling!
Merle: What does that mean, Terri?
Terri: Knitting.

During the review of the Steinhauer family group chart, the confusion between "What We Found Out" and "What We Thought" recording is evident:

Merle: I don't know. You've told me a lot. Speak nice and loudly
so David can put away his book and listen. He can't hear
you very well.
[David looks up but continues reading.]
Okay. .
Elmer: Well, we made a house here, and. .
Merle: [interrupting] You guessed this was what their house looked
like. . .
Elmer: Yeah. . and we. . drew another house. We guessed. .
Merle: [interrupting] No, this is what you found out.
Elmer: Yes. . .

In the group doing the review of the Kato family group chart, some members had grasped the meaning of "hypothesis" as defined by Merle:

Merle: They come from Jamaica. . .
[Somebody gasps, 'No!']
. .did you say Jamaica? No..Ja- [prompts] -pan.
Terri: Japan family.
Merle: Yes, and what did you guess about foods?
Terri: [inaudible]
Merle: What's this over here?
Terri: [inaudible]

Merle: What is this on the side?
Terri: [inaudible]
Merle: No, but what. .why do you have it on this side?
What is it?
Terri: [inaudible]
Merle: Betty?
Betty: Uh, 'cause it's the food that they really do like to eat.
Merle: It's the food that they really do like to eat. That's
right. First, you made some guesses, some hypotheses, then,
and then you found out what they really do want to eat.
Faye, would you [inaudible] hypothesis over there. . .
[Merle walks over and takes books away from Kitty and Alice.]
What's this, over here? [points to left column]
Betty: Hypothesis!
Merle: Why is that there?
Faye: 'Cause that's just like my house. My house is [inaudible]
Merle: Why did you put it right there?
Faye: [inaudible]. .'cause I make my house like that.
. . . I like it like that!
Merle: Why, why is that picture on this chart about the Kato family?
Faye: 'Cause it's the Kato family's house.
Merle: Is that the house they live in?
Faye: [inaudible]
Merle: Betty, would you help us, please!
Betty: uhh. .that is our hypothesis!
Merle: Okay. That's your hypothesis, your guess. Faye.
You made a guess that they lived in a house like yours, and
that's why you put a house like this. That was your guess.
And then, what is this [points to right column], Betty?
Betty: That is their really house.
Merle: That is what you found out. That's right.

For the Kalyna family group chart review, at least one or two group members understand what Family Origin or "roots" means:

Merle: . . . Now you know it says, 'The Kalyna Family.' What does
it say underneath there? . . . .
Charlie
and
Rose: [They both scan the chart. Suddenly, they find the word.]
Ukraine!
Merle: Ukraine. Right! That's where they [pauses]. . .
Char-
lie: . . .came from.
Merle: Where their families came from. David!
[David is sitting in his desk and doing something in his book.]
Rosie: That's where their 'roots' are.

However, sometimes words are misunderstood or taken literally as when, during the same review, Rosie insists that the word she is seeking has been written down somewhere:

Merle: . . . Where do you have what you found out what their favorite room was? Where's that written?
Rosie: [peering closely at the chart] . . underneath somewhere. . . [keeps looking]
Merle: [holding up the chart] It's not on this side. It should be on this side. Do you have it written over here somewhere? . . . [the entire group pores over the chart] That's my printing, I don't think that's where it would be. . . It should be up here. I wonder where it is. [Voices discuss the problem.] Okay. . . .
[They continue talking about the problem. Matt gets up to look. Merle waits.]
This is the real one. You don't have a guess, then. . Maybe it's the same thing. Maybe you guessed it the first time.
Rosie: [insistent] It should be here somewhere. . .
[looks closely at an erased word] Maybe it's behind this one.
[She points to the word.]
[Matt takes her literally. He walks around the charts and looks at the back. 'Nope,' he says, 'it's not behind here.' Merle suppresses a smile.]

But the review of group charting activity is only the beginning of a very full social studies period. Merle draws the students' attention to the picture chart [destined to be a collage] of work done at home. She says they need pictures of "work away from home." They also need "fun" pictures of how families have fun together and when they are by themselves. On the front chalkboard she prints:

Work away from home
Having fun together
Having fun by themselves

She tells the children that there are two ways of getting these pictures. They can cut them out of magazines or they can draw them. So, in the time remaining before recess, they are to look through magazines to find at least one picture of work away from home, and then they are to draw two pictures to show how members of a family can have fun together (with other family members/friends) or alone (by themselves).

Unlike previous situations I had observed, Merle imposes clear standards. Pretending to be a "magazine editor," she warns them she will accept only "good" pictures that are clear, large, colored, on the topic, and neatly cut out. Pretending to be a "television producer," she warns them their drawings will be accepted only if they are neat, fill the whole page, and are fully colored. The idea of the television show intrigues the children. This is something new. When Merle points to a cardboard carton as a potential television set, Doug gets very excited. "Say, Miss Johnson, I have a good idea! Put locks on it!"

During the magazine picture cutting activity, I discover to my dismay that the magazines I had brought from home have very few occupations in them. Mainly, the advertising is directed to suburban living, presenting an image of the "good life" spent drinking and having patio parties! The colorful food and liquor advertisements attract the attention of some of the children, diverting them from the assigned task. Doug continues to raise his eyebrows and to smirk at the scantily-clad females, and Carol informs me that her favorite beverage is "Baby Duck," a cheap sparkling wine.

When the children grow bored with the magazine assignment, Merle hands out sheets of paper for the drawings. With only a few minutes left before recess, some children start on the pictures they are to draw themselves. However, the majority are not certain about what it is they are to draw. They just draw! Others appeal to me for help. After a short "clean-up," they leave for recess. I find myself tidying up the room, since the class still faces an hour of music practice after recess.

I decide to accompany the children to the music practice. In the music room, the three other classes of grade one are already seated on the tiered rows of carpet along the long wall of the room. The children are arranged according to designated places, and as soon as they are seated, Merle and another grade one teacher depart, leaving the remaining two teachers to assist the music teacher. I sit down on the floor behind the teacher's desk, where I can observe but remain relatively unnoticed by the majority of the group. Both classroom teachers face the children.

The practice starts with the music teacher sounding some notes on the piano. The children are expected to respond in the same key. This goes on for some time, until the music teacher is satisfied. Then they practise the first song, "It's a Small World," singing the verses over and over again. Before singing each new verse, they say the words in unison. After the first few minutes, the children start getting restless. Although most of the admonitions seem to be directed toward the children in Merle's class, I notice other "individuals" in the other classes.

As the whole assembly practises the next song, "Frère Jacques, in both French and English, a ripple effect begins to spread through the crowd. David is removed and made to sit against the opposite wall, facing the group. This is a gross mistake for it gives him a vast audience which he proceeds to amuse by making faces and mimicking their singing. Soon Dick joins him at an adjacent wall. One of the grade one teachers reproves him, "Dick, I can't believe that you were in my class last year! You aren't the same person!"

The next song, a German action song called "My Hat," is sung in German and English. As the children work through "Mein Hut," I notice a good many are not matching words and actions. Before long Faye is led out of the room and sent into the hall. David, who had been allowed back into the group, is sent back to the wall again where he soon begins playing with the extension cords and nearby plug-ins. He makes rude gestures at the teacher behind her back, causing some titters in the crowd.

Finally, Faye, David, and Dick are all sent out of the room and told to sit on the "orange bench" in the office "where the principal can see you." The rest of the group practise and practise the song "Free to Be--You and Me," until even the quieter students begin to stir. When I leave the room about 3:00 P.M., I see Roddy standing in the front row, blowing "spit bubbles." Doug, seated in the row behind, is making pseudo-lewd smirks at the little girl from another class beside him. I have had enough.

As the little trio wends its way to the "hot seat," I follow them down the hallway. In the staff room, Merle is marking phonics books piled high in her basket. "It is a bit long for them, don't you think?" I ask. "Three of them didn't make it through the first half of the practice. David, Faye, and Dick are waiting for their little 'talk' with the principal." Merle looks down. "I know I should feel guilty about leaving them like that for somebody else, but it is my free time and I'm not about to give it up. I have them all the time! I need a break.." In addition, the problem of being a "surplus teacher" doesn't seem to have helped her morale. She looks depressed.

In the remaining time before dismissal, after the children have returned from music, Merle plays a numbers guessing game. They seem to have played the game before, but many are still uncertain of the rules. At the sound of tHe buzzer, some, who are already dressed, rush out. Others dawdle, almost missing the bus as they putter about.

April 15, 1980

Preparing for the tv show. The whole class, including Merle, are whispering when I join them this afternoon. It had been a very noisy morning she informs me so now they are all talking in whispers. While the room is quiet, she whispers the instructions for what they are to do. They will continue to draw pictures for the television show. But first, she demonstrates to them what a "good" drawing looks like, one that the "television producer" will find acceptable. Bringing in an example of a drawing from a bulletin board outside another classroom, she indicates that the picture is fully colored, neatly drawn, and big enough to see on the "television screen." Using a piece of wax crayon she shows them how to shade in large areas.

I circulate about the room, encouraging the children to talk about their drawings. At David's desk, I watch him draw a narrow, tall house with swings outside. Betty, who is passing by, pauses, then says, "Y'know something? Something that is different about my family? My father and my mother speak Filippino at home." She knows how to say perfume in Filippino--"buono." Just then, Jennifer appeals to me for help. "I can't draw," she says. She tries to draw some swings. The two inverted Vs have two short lines for the swing seats on which perch her usual people--circular faces with no bodies just limbs like radiating spokes coming out of the head.

Katherine's freckled face is troubled. She's already drawn a person flying a kite and handed it to Miss Johnson who then asked her to draw another picture. When I suggest that she draw the next one of the family having fun together, she asks me if I had watched the tv show last night, "the one that gave prizes." She is referring to the Academy Awards, so

I suggest that she draw her family watching television. Her picture soon takes shape as she draws the backs of five heads seated on a chesterfield facing a television set.

Roddy's pictures are usually full of action or have some interesting story to tell. This time he has drawn a hugh balloon-like figure that takes up most of the page. "That's me," he says, and pointing to a smaller figure in the background, "and that's my pet cat and that's the school." Dick, wishing to monopolize my attention, whines that he can't draw people. "You can!" I tell him. "I saw you draw Little Otto the other day and you even offered to show Roddy how to draw people." Dick smiles to himself and proceeds to draw himself walking in the woods and picking flowers, all the while muttering, "It's not fair! It's not fair!"

Sheila has drawn a big house but the picture has been rejected because it doesn't show the family having fun. She decides, after some discussion with me, that she will draw some people riding bicycles along the sidewalk outside the house. At the back table, an "artists' colony" has formed around the crayon box, boys at one table and girls at the other. Betty, a member of the colony, approaches me and asks me to spell "person." Her picture is of someone reading a book and she wants a caption for it: "A Person Reading a Book." At the boys' table, Sherman has attracted a circle of admirers. His picture of a hockey game in action at the arena is fully detailed, complete with different colored uniforms for his stick-figured hockey players. Doug, on the other hand, has taken the easy way out, as usual, and has managed to communicate the message with as little effort as possible. His paper shows a small figure with a circular head and a triangular body with no limbs. Above the figure, a kite is flying in the sky. Beside the figure he has written "z-z-z-z" and with much amusement he starts telling me about what is happening in the picture. "That's a boy flying his kite but he fell asleep and the kite blew away." He adds a rock just under the boy's head for the fun of it.

Rosie's picture, five little girls holding hands, has them all facing forward. At first, she says that they are walking beside the creek, then she changes her mind and says they are playing a game where they fall down at a certain moment. Carol, in her sing-song voice, asks me to help her draw their family's camper on a holiday trip. She looks frustrated as she throws away yet another sheet of drawing paper. Once I get her oriented to drawing the camper on the highway, she settles down to drawing by herself.

Merle, who has been accepting or rejecting the drawings as they are brought to her, has posted some on the bulletin board. While she is gone from the room, someone accidentally upsets her carton of thumb tacks. David is on them in a flash. I decide to watch what develops. A few minutes later, as I walk past his desk, David is offering to "shake hands" with Matt. Matt, startled, opens his palm, then rushes over to Doug and offers to "shake his hand." Upon closer investigation, I discover that David had taped a thumb tack to a loop of scotch tape and that was what he had passed on to Matt. At his desk he is busy making another one for his friends when Merle arrives back in the classroom.

By 1:40 P.M., most of the children have completed at least one or two drawings and are getting tired of the activity. Merle tells them to spend the time remaining before recess doing "corrections." She has been doing a great deal of marking in the last few days, but most people are behind in their "corrections." I work with Jennifer on her reading workbook exercise, then help Terri with her workbook. Just before recess, as I return to the table, I notice David still making new "thumb tack and tape hand shakes" beneath his desk. I whisper to him, "David, why don't you give me that? You'll only get into trouble. ." "Oh, no I won't," he retorts. "Not in this school, I won't. . the teachers here don't care. But in my old school, I would. I'd get a strap!"

At recess I help settle a dispute between Jennifer and Kitty on the bench and help tie up poor Sheila's laces. First they were too long, now they are too short. No wonder Merle heads for the staff room at recess to have some coffee. I am thinking of doing the same when friendly Roddy offers me a bite from his pear. "Go ahead, have some!" he urges. Fortunately, a student teacher enters the room and asks to see the Kanata Kit, which I am only too happy to explain to her. On her way out of the room, she notices the drawings that Merle has already posted. She is amazed at how big they are and how well colored. "When I ask my students in the other grade one class to do some coloring, they say, 'I don't like to color.'" Just then Merle comes into the room and I introduce the student teacher to "our big-name television producer who is very fussy." A few minutes later, the "television producer" goes back to being a common referee when Terri complains that David is "hitting people on the playground."

When the children leave with Merle for music practice, I remain in the room and do some straightening up. It is the least I can do for them.

April 16, 1980

Writing the script. Arriving at the school a few minutes before the recess bell, I go into the staff room where I meet the physical education consultant whose demonstration lesson I had observed earlier in the study. We discuss the study and she remarks that it is easy to "lose touch with what really goes on in schools." I agree that it is easy to forget how very busy and exhausting it can be with always never enough time. She doesn't know how "teachers manage" without the breaks she has to think, reflect, and to prepare. "Speaking of managing," I say, working the conversation over to the topic I want to discuss with her, "how did you find Merle's class compared to the other three grade one classes?" Casting her eyes upwards and throwing her arms out, almost involuntarily, she says, "Are they ever a lively bunch!" Lowering her voice, she adds, "They really are a very low class, aren't they?" When I ask her how they are doing in their physical education sessions that she has worked on, she replies, "Thank goodness I have Merle to help me manage. I just don't understand at all. . their behavior. . and in such a calm atmosphere too!"

When the teachers drift into the staff room at recess, I notice the grade one teachers sharing anecdotes about the children's behavior during the practices. At last day's practice one of Merle's students had smuggled in a pair of scissors in her shoe. They wonder how they'll behave on the night of the concert. "They'll probably freeze with stage fright and won't remember a single word," says one teacher. Then she adds, "That reminds me. I must get some more cookies baked for my class." When someone asks, "Are you having a cookie sale?" she replies, "No, I use them with my class. I tell them if they behave in music practice, they earn tokens. Then they can buy cookies or other stuff with the tokens." A strange look comes over Merle's face, but she says nothing.

For social studies that day, Merle combines a social studies and language arts lesson in one period by using the completed drawings as a basis for writing a "script" for the television show. It is fascinating to listen and to observe how she put her language arts experience into practice. In her instructions to the class, she states:

> The pictures are really very nice and colorful. You've done a very good job. But we still need words to explain the pictures. You will have to help me. I need some ideas for a title. This TV show needs a title. I know what I'll do. You people tell me your ideas and I'll write them down here on this board. Then, we'll have a discussion and we'll decide on whose ideas we will choose.

The children offer several ideas for use as titles, but some are excluded because they are not inclusive enough of the variety of pictures that have been produced. For example, "Adventures Outdoors" and "Having Fun in the Gym" are discarded during the course of the discussion. Finally, the choices of titles are narrowed down to three: "Things Outside and Inside," "Families Playing," and "Families Have Fun." A vote is taken and Merle records the votes using tally marks on the chalkboard. The children choose "Families Have Fun" as the title of their television show.

Because they are getting restless, just sitting in their desks, Merle lets them play with plasticine as she proceeds to the next phase of the activity. Once again she lets them decide which of the two categories of family fun pictures will be discussed first. By a show of hands it is determined that the discussion will begin with "Fun that people can have by themselves." The children are asked to identify their own drawings and to categorize them into similar groupings of activities.

A large number of people have drawn kite flying. Working with the children's suggestions, Merle writes sentences describing each picture or set of pictures. For example:

Merle: Cars? Okay [Removes Sherman's picture from the bulletin board and holds it in front of her.]
How can I say. .this? This is a picture that Sherman did of himself playing cars. How can I ex. .how can I put that. What would the sentence say? . .Alice?
Alice: [inaudible]
Merle: But. . okay. .But on a television program, you don't always know the names of the people in the pictures, do you?. . So what can we say instead of saying 'Sherman is playing cars'?
Charlie: [quickly but quietly] 'Here is someone playing with his cars.'
Merle: Okay. 'Here is someone playing with his cars.'

A similar procedure is followed in discussing, grouping, and describing the pictures of families having fun together. Then some children come to the carpet to listen to the completed phrases put together as a "script."

Merle: [reads]
'Families Have Fun':
'People in families have fun playing alone.'
'These people are flying their kits.'
[shows pictures]
.....then you see this picture, then this one ....
'Here is someone playing with his car.'
[water gushing in the sink at the back]
'This girl is pushing her dolls.'
'This boy is riding his bike by himself.'
'Some people do gymnastics.'
'Some watch TV.'
'Families Have Fun Together'
'They go camping.'
'They play games.'
'They take walks.'
'They play ball.'
'They have picnics.'
'They play outside.'

Although it has been a very long, tiring session, Merle does a thorough, effective job of integrating the social studies with the language arts. She looks tired. It's 3:28 P.M. Suddenly, she glances around the room and loses her temper--briefly--when she sees the papers lying around the floor. The children respond immediately to the changed mood. They rush about the room, cleaning up very seriously. The children leave more quietly than usual.

Merle approaches me at the back of the room. She looks exhausted. So am I, just from observing the long session. I compliment her on her skilful weaving together of the social studies and language arts. Then we discuss the different pictures, sharing some of the experiences.

April 17, 1980

Seeing Alberta. This afternoon, Merle's class joins the other grade one classes in viewing a film on Alberta called "Under the Sun." Before taking the children to the audio-visuals room, Merle gives them a short "lecture" on Alberta and Alberta's 75th anniversary:

> We're going to see a film about Alberta. Now, before we go to see the film, I want to talk a little bit about where you live. You live in. .Edmonton. . Alberta. .Canada. Now, Canada is a big, big, country. And Alberta is a province of Canada. It is part of Canada, Edmonton is a big city in Alberta. Palisades is part of the city, so is Pleasantville, the district where some of you come from. It's also part of Edmonton.
>
> This year our concert is about Alberta and its people. Alberta is celebrating its 75th birthday. We are helping our province celebrate this big, big, birthday . .75 years. Alberta became a province with its own lieutenant-governor, its own government, and its own capital. .75 years ago. That is a big number.
>
> The film we are going to see is about Alberta. It's about things that you will see when you travel around Alberta. In the film you'll see many pictures and you'll also hear singing. These are children singing about Alberta. .older children, and the songs they'll be singing are not like the songs you'll be singing at the concert.

The film is a travelogue about Alberta showing its many people and its environment. Urban and rural scenes pass quickly across the screen, with close-ups of what can be called the symbols of Alberta--the prairie rose, oil derricks, skyscrapers, the legislative building. Trick camera shots, fish-eye lens, strange exposures capture the attention. Close-ups of children show them relating why they like Alberta: "the seasons and the many things to do."

At 1:40 P.M. the film is over, and Merle and the students return to the classroom. With only a brief period before recess, Merle calls the children to the carpet where she shows them a large laminated map of Alberta and a collection of pictures about Alberta she had borrowed from another grade one classroom. After locating Edmonton on the map, Merle proceeds through the various tourist zones in Alberta, showing pictures and highlights of each region. As the children recognize some of the places or things they have seen as part of their own family travel experiences, their behavior deteriorates, leading Merle to lose her temper (which is a rare occurrence).

Nevertheless, in spite of the restlessness, Merle manages to conduct a meaningful discussion that has little "nuggets" of learning sequences such as the following:

Merle: Here's a picture of our city in the spring or the fall. How do I know it's the spring or the fall?
Carol: Canada!
Merle: How do I know this is, this is Edmonton in the spring or the fall?. .Doug?
Doug: 'Cause you can see the sky. .like. .
Merle: Okay.
Doug: . .like it's gonna rain tomorrow. .or
Merle: Could be. That's a good clue. .
Doug: . .it's cloudy until the sun comes out.
[The discussion gets side-tracked by a question about the Hoodoos and then dinosaurs until Merle brings it back into focus again.]
Merle: . . . .But in this picture. .what was the clue that told me that this was not winter, it's not summer. It's not winter. How do I know it's not summer and not winter?. . . Sherman?
Sherman: Uhh. . it looks like winter because there's snow there.
Merle: It looks like winter because there's snow. And how do I

know that it's not winter? Okay. I know that it's not summer because there's snow. It's not winter. Doug?

Doug: It's fall.

Merle: How do I know that? How do I know it's not winter? . . . Terri, how do I know?

Terri: 'Cause it looks. . . freeze!

Merle: No! That's not it! Look at the river. Do you see the river?

Voice: Yeah!

Voice: Oh! It's not ice!

Merle: It's not ice! That's right. If it was winter, it would be all covered with ice and snow. But there's just a little bit of snow around the edge. So it's either spring, after it statted to thaw, or else it's fall, before it's frozen over.

At recess, Merle instructs her two helpers to spray paint the TV box she had made. She gives them a can of green spray paint and tells them to go out in the school courtyard. In the staff room the main topic of conversation at this time seems to be the spring concert. The grade one teachers sit together on the lounges. They are discussing which grade one child from each room will take some lead part at the concert. Some of the other teachers suggest Erika, but Merle tells them that Erika and her family will be leaving for holidays shortly before the concert so she will not be able to do the job. Terri's name is suggested as an alternate. Much of the discussion focuses on individual children in their classrooms, and some of the comments are not very flattering. In the course of the conversation, I hear someone mention that nine children in Merle's room might not "make it" this year.

Death at an early age. As I leave the staff room, I can smell paint in the hallway. The two helpers have very generously spray painted the carton and the paint is still wet and sticky. "What should we do with this?" they ask. I take it from them, and manage to get green paint all over my hands. When Merle sees me, she says, "I should have told them to just leave it in the courtyard until it dried." I offer to carry it out for her. When I return, she is about to lead the children to the music practice. "What else can I do?" I ask her. She thinks maybe I can make a "screen to fit the front of the TV box." I find some construction paper in the storage room and return to the classroom.

Only Roddy remains in the classroom. "What's the matter, Roddy?" I ask. "Why aren't you in music with the rest?" He looks uncomfortable as he plays with the buttons on his bib-overalls. "I forgot to bring my letter so I have to stay away from practice for a whole hour in my desk." He shrugs his shoulders.

Down the hallway, I can hear the sound of singing. They must be in the old gym, I think. I peek through the open stage door and can see just the tops of their heads as they stand on the gym floor. They look just like young recruits in boot camp going through basic training. There is something almost military about the way they are lined up and the teachers, including Merle, are parading up and down the rows like drill sergeants inspecting their platoons.

I walk back to the staff room feeling strangely upset by the scene. In the kitchen I smell something baking. Soon the kindergarten teacher comes in, checks the oven, and pulls out a pan of "bannock" for her kindergarten class. I should have guessed, I think, having passed several war-bonneted Indians walking down the hallway. The day is getting stranger and stranger.

I check the TV box in the courtyard. It is still wet. On my way through the office, I notice Carol sitting on the orange bench. In the classroom, Roddy is still seated in his desk, obviously very bored. Merle walks into the room. "Stay in your desk, Roddy, and don't talk to anybody," she says sternly. I tell her about the problems with the TV box. She suggests that I take it to the "greenhouse and leave it there for the night."

The "greenhouse"? What greenhouse? I haven't seen any greenhouse anywhere. I ask the school secretary who directs me to the courtyard. So I go back to the courtyard. There is a lean-to, plastic-covered structure on the south wall of one wing. I fumble with the latch on the dilapidated door, trying not to get more green paint on me from the box which I hold gingerly.

As I cross the threshold, I have a strange experience. I am in another world. It is an eerie place. Death! The green box and I are the only signs of life in that house of death called a greenhouse. Dead spider plants, their lifeless skeletons hanging from the ceiling, seem frozen in some earlier stage of lush growth that has been seared by some unseen blast. A cryogenic crypt. Rows of dead plants, each row still neatly staked and labeled by grade and room number, are thrust in beds of soil along the south wall. Peas in their pods, tomatoes still on the vine. .all dead. "Death at an Early Age" said Jonathan Kozol. A dreadful fear sweeps over me. I leave the green box and flee in terror from that eerie place.

Back in the hallway and still feeling shaken, I can hear the sweet sound of children's voices singing "Free to Be--You and Me." As I pass the gym, I look inside again. This time, Elmer has been cast out and he, too, peaks at the heads below. As I walk, heavy-hearted, back to the classroom, the irony of the situation hits me. Somehow, the words "Free to Be," dredged out of those tired, restless children at the end of a hard day, seem as paradoxical as the greenhouse that is not green.

In the classroom, Roddy fidgets. "How much longer?" he sighs. I write Merle a note saying that I have left the TV box in the "greenhouse."

Just as I am leaving, Merle pokes her head in the doorway, checks on Roddy, and walks out. I join her in the hallway. "Why does Roddy have to stay in his desk?" I ask. "He had to take a note home to his parents about his behavior in practice yesterday. If they want him to participate in the concert, they were supposed to write a note back. Roddy says he forgot to bring the note from home. I'm not sure that he even brought the note I wrote home to his parents. Anyway, he doesn't care for music at the best of times, but at least he's responsible. That's more than some of them. Do you know, I had five of my students out of the gym at one time today!"

I can well imagine the reaction of being in a large group like that after having been over-stimulated by the bright, up-beat film--too much for young nervous systems. Merle walks back to the gym and I go home. On the school's front lawn, the kindergarten class is having a pow wow--I mean picnic. They all sit in a circle, wearing their paper war bonnets and eating bannock. It is a fine spring day, yet I feel so chilled by what I have experienced this day.

On my way home, my thoughts are a mad jumble of ideas. What had I "seen" as I walked through that greenhouse door? I seemed to have lost all sense of self momentarily. I had felt as dead as those plants in their dusty foliage. Was it a break-down or a break-through? Over the past few months, my ego, more embedded in those materials than I had cared to admit, had endured a battering as I had witnessed how others experienced what I helped create. Now, after all these months, there seemed to be a coming-together of experiences in a We-relationship.

April 21, 1980

Playing a game. In the staff room, just before afternoon classes begin, the music teacher and two grade one teachers are trying to compose an introductory statement announcing the grade one selections at the concert. When they place the paper on the coffee table, I notice that they have written: "The people in Alberta have many customs and traditions." The next sentence says something about "helping Alberta celebrate its 75th birthday." Then it goes on: "Families in Alberta have come from many different countries," yet there is a concession: "Some families were already in Alberta before Alberta became a province." Before the selections are listed, there are some references to "our heritage." One of the teachers wonders if there shouldn't be something about "And they live together in harmony."

In the classroom, the atmosphere seems to reflect the gloomy weather outside. When Merle enters the room, she goes directly to the kit and brings the board game and transparencies out to the carpet area. Quietly, without saying a word she removes some stars. As the room settles down, she speaks in a low, somewhat mournful voice about how she had seen some people from the room violate school rules about walking on the railway tracks and others had gone out on the road to watch machines at work.

When Terri hands her a note from home about the concert, Merle searches and searches for the note that Alice had brought that morning and that had become misplaced somewhere. Finally, it is located and Terri is dispatched with the two notes to the office. As the room grows noisy, Merle shows her annoyance.

The social studies lesson begins with a quick review of what is happening in Alberta this year--its 75th anniversary. Then the children are instructed to shut their eyes and to imagine a picture in their minds of some place in Alberta where their family has visited or holidayed. After some discussion of individual "images" or pictures in the head, Merle is ready to begin the carpet activity.

Using the transparency map of Alberta, Merle surveys the many places one can visit in Alberta. Many of the places had been discussed in the last day's session. When she opens up the game board for the "Discover Alberta" game described in Activity 8, the children's interest is aroused. Since games and game boards are a common feature of this classroom, there are established procedures for introducing a new game. From my observations, I have noticed that she usually teaches a game to a small group of people while the rest of the class are doing some other work. However, in this case, the whole class is going to be oriented to the game.

She divides the class into two groups--the Blues and Yellows--and is about to begin, when Mr. Sloan appears in the room with some green garbage bags. From his remarks, it sounds like "school clean-up day." They proceed to play the game, learning the rules as they go along. Because of the large group, there is considerable pushing and bickering because they all want to crowd around the board and watch the action. After the game is over, Merle and I discuss some of its features. She doesn't sound displeased or even worn out by the protesting and arguing that had colored the game.

At 1:12 P.M. Merle announces that they will be going outdoors to help clean up the yard. There seems to be a contest between rooms to see who can accumulate the most garbage. There is also a treat for those who help. When I decide to join the group outside, Merle is surprised. "This isn't social studies! You don't have to come," she says. The children take responsibility very seriously. There is no running about as they diligently search for litter. After a vigorous eleven minutes of cleaning-up, the portion of the yard assigned to this grade one class appears clear of any debris.

When Merle and I enter the staff room at recess, she tells me, half-jokingly, that she is going to do some shopping for her class. Perhaps a batch of cookies will help make them behave better during practice. "And you thought that just talking to them, appealing to their sense of decency would be enough," I reply. "I just don't know," she says, "the whole thing bothers me. That song, 'It's a Small World,' we've done that routine for the last four or five years, having them come parading down the gym dressed in ethnic costumes."

After recess, I wait in the staff room until Merle has led the class to music practice. In the classroom again I see Roddy, sitting at his desk. The problem with the letter apparently is still not resolved. I want to help Merle in some way, to show my appreciation to her for participating with me in the study. Perhaps I can help put together the TV box television show. The box itself is not back in the classroom.

The green box is still sitting on the ledge near the grimy windows through which a pale light filters. The place still looks spooky. Suddenly, something catches my eye. There is a bit of life in that dreary place! A small green onion has worked its way through the soil. One defiant green onion. It brings to mind an article by Michael Apple (1980) which had taken some reductionists to task for their overly simplistic equation of schooling and capitalism. Like the green onion among the dead plants, the process of legitimizing the dominant culture is full of "contradictions."

I bring the green box into the classroom. Roddy sits playing with his crayons. Merle walks into the room and starts a "talk" with Roddy. After having given him some time to think it over, she asks him if he can remember what happened to the note she had sent home with him. Although Roddy is evasive, Merle is infinitely patient with him in her questioning. She is trying to establish whether he had actually taken the note home and had delivered it to his parents. She offers to call his mother, but he says hastily, "She won't be home." What Merle wants from him is a decision that he will change his behavior in the music classes so that he can participate in the concert. I am struck by the manner in which Merle handles the problem. Not only does she not accuse him of lying, but she gives him every benefit of the doubt. She offers him alternative ways of resolving the problem while respecting his dignity as an individual who has to assume responsibility for his own actions.

Later, in the staff room where she sits marking, Merle confesses that she really doesn't know what to do with the problem. She dislikes phoning Roddy's mother because they are very concerned parents and will be upset. She just wishes Roddy would say, "Well, I didn't take it home. Could I have another one?" "He's really a likeable youngster," I comment.

"Now that Doug, that's an entirely different child," says Merle. I've taken some of that speaker's advice and I've placed Doug on his own star chart which has short-term objectives." Then she goes on, "I've learned that Agnes next door does not give out Good Guy Badges. Instead she buys little boxes of raisins and gives them out at the end of the week to those who've kept most of their stars."

April 22, 1980

A turn in the road. Something is definitely different about Merle this afternoon. She is wearing a brown, two-piece suit. Usually she dresses more casually, mostly in slacks with loose fitting tops, and wears neutral shades of brown or other earth colors.

Today's social studies lesson is a continuation of the "Discovering Alberta" board game about family travel experiences. Using the overhead transparency map as a reference, Merle attempts to personalize the game experience by linking it to the group families in the kit as well as to persons like the principal and custodian who are familiar to the children. Listing the names of these different families on the board, she plays a "pretend" game in which she role plays each family's travel experiences in Alberta. Adopting each family's name in turn, she pretends that some families, in their travels around Alberta, visit more places and see more things than others. One family, she says, drives right through without stopping to enjoy some of the places. Using tally marks to indicate the number of places of interest that are visited, Merle is able to demonstrate that the real object of the game is more than just traveling but is also discovering something new.

This is followed by a class discussion in which individual children relate their own family's travel experiences. Then, she distributes copies of the game board which have been reproduced on student masters. These two parts of the game board are assembled and the circles and squares are colored according to the instructions. The children become very excited when they learn that they can take these game boards home to keep. They are instructed to teach the game to their parents or older brothers or sisters. Merle suggests that they assume the names of the different Canadian families that they have studied and that they use these names while playing the game. Some of the students also want to color the small sketches to make the game board look more attractive.

While the children are busy assembling the game board, Merle informs me that she had been interviewed that morning. "I'm really anxious about it. I don't really think I'll get it. It doesn't look promising." I feel a deep understanding for her at that moment.

After recess, the children line up and leave for music. When I notice that Roddy has rejoined the group, I ask Merle after school how the problem was solved. She says that she had had to send another note, and, just as expected, the parents were upset. In contrast, Doug and David's parents, although informed of the problem, had agreed that something should be done about their child's behavior, but nothing got done. Merle says, "That Roddy! He's forever disappointing me. Take today, for instance, in music. He was trying to be good for a little while, but soon he acted up again."

April 23, 1980

Family traditions. As the concert time grows nearer, the school begins to get a face-lift. While Mr. Sloan cleans the windows in the front entrance, one of the grade one teachers works on a spring display in the main showcase. In the staff room another teacher prints a banner saying "Happy Birthday Alberta 75" that will accompany the display. Others discuss costumes and talk about ticket sales.

Merle is wearing an attractive blue velour two-piece pant suit, one of the first times that I've seen her wearing something more colorful than the usual earth tones she favors. She asks the children if they had remembered to play the Discovering Alberta game with their family. Betty says she had played it with her father and they each had pretended to be one of the families in the kit. Judy had played it with her sister. Most of the children indicate that they had found it a "fun" experience.

As a related follow-up activity to family travel, Merle had duplicated the problem-solving exercise in Activity 8. The cartoon sequence shows a family taking a car trip. Two of the children in the back seat throw litter out of the car. In the remaining two frames, the children are asked to imagine what is likely to happen as a consequence of such action, and to suggest an alternative course of action that is more positive.

Before introducing the problem-solving activity, Merle recollects her own personal family experiences of traveling in a car with her sisters. Then she asks the children to relate how their own family solves some of the problems of traveling in a car for long distances. Sherman's family brings along games; Terri's family brings along friends.

When the copies of the problem-solving cartoon sequence are handed out, Merle and the children discuss what is happening in Frames #1 and #2. When asked what they think will happen next, to be drawn in Frame #3, the children's responses include the following examples: 1) Sherman thinks that something thrown out the window will hit another car. 2) Judy thinks they will throw something different next time, perhaps an orange peel. 3) Sheila thinks they'll continue throwing Kleenex. 4) Doug hypothesizes that the car driver will get two flat tires and the kids will throw paper. 5) Roddy also thinks they will throw paper. 6) Adam thinks the policeman will come because it is against the law to throw stuff out the window. 7) Terri sees a sequence of events: throwing a peel will hit another car and cause an accident. 8) Katherine says that "a smoke thrown out the window can cause a fire." 9) Elmer's story is about an object thrown out the window which hits someone in the eye, causing a black eye, which brings a policeman into the picture. 10) Alice's hypothesis is that the two children will throw an ice cream cone and hit a policeman.

Other children in the remaining rows offer similar hypotheses. In Frame #4, they are to seek an alternative way of resolving the problem shown in the first two frames. Sherman's solution is to have the truck driver hit by the peel pull over to the side of the road and tell the father. Trish thinks the problem could be solved if the family had a rule about not eating in the car. However, Sheila suggests that a garbage bag could be placed in the back of the car, and Elmer thinks that the family should make litter stops along the way. After talking about some possible solutions, they are asked to draw one solution in the final frame.

The desk activity has made the children restless. Before moving to the next activity, Merle allows them to get some plasticine and to work on it quietly as they listen. Merle introduces the concept of "tradition" by grounding it in the personal life experiences of the students. First she uses the example of birthdays as special days, then she expands on that concept by asking the children if they do anything special on birthdays. This includes exchanging gifts, baking a special birthday cake, or playing games. Even the tooth fairy is brought in as an example of a tradition in many families. After listening to the examples, Merle introduces the concept word "tradition" and begins to define by examples. Additional instances of family traditions are cited: special holidays;

naming, housing, and farming property and land that are passed on from generation to generation. In class several children have been named after parents or grandparents. Merle indicates that in some families meals are always served at a certain time and place.

Then, Merle asks if anybody can tell her what a "tradition" is. "Magics!" shouts Carol, confusing magician with tradition. Seeking further examples, Merle suggests new family traditions are being created every day. In some families card playing is a tradition, for example.

After school, Merle speaks to some boys involved in the altercation in the lunch room. She asks them if they want their moms and dads to hear about their misbehavior. Suddenly, Matt blurts out, "Ah, they [lunch supervisors] are so grumpy all the time!" He mimicks: "It's always 'Matt sit down! Matt sit still! Matt don't do that!'" Merle says, "They sound just like me. Am I grumpy too?" "Nah," says Matt, "You're not grumpy. You're nice!" During the conversation with the boys, Merle refers to transactional analysis materials [TA for Tots] which advocate: "Do something nice for somebody and they'll do something nice for you."

In the staff room after school Merle sits on one of the lounges. She looks tired. I don't want to bother her with questions about her plans for the kit.

April 24, 1980

Practising for the concert. The room is a primeval cave I think as I plunge into its semi-darkness. There are papers scattered everywhere, and crayon bits crunch underfoot as I walk to the back table. Magazine pictures meant for the collage lie in a dejected heap on the table. The drawings for the TV show are stacked on a side cupboard. Merle is searching through the kit. "I had a strange morning at the university," I say, and she responds with, "I had a strange morning too! I was offered a school!"

Before beginning the social studies lesson, Merle glances around the room and says, "Mrs. Odynak probably thinks we're really messy today! Let's do some cleaning and picking up!" After the cleaning up, Merle continues developing the concept of family traditions. "How many of you have taken the time to tnink about some of your family traditions? The kind of things you do again and again, not just once, but many times. Sometimes you do them everyday, sometimes it's once a week, but every week, and sometimes it's once a year."

When the examples elicited from the class prove inappropriate, Merle changes tactics. She supplies the examples of family traditions and using them like a check list, she asks the children whether these traditions are also common to their own family. Then, in addition to family traditions, they consider school traditions as well. After listening to a variety of examples of traditions, the children are asked to write short stories about their family traditions using the stem: "My favorite family tradition is . . . ." When they have completed the stories, they can illustrate them in the space provided on the ruled sheets of paper. While most become enthusiastically involved in writing about their own experience or experiences of traditions, there is the usual misbehavior in the class. At one point Elmer and Dick wrestle at the back. However, one usual combatant has retired temporarily. Smitten with love for Carol across the aisle, David asks me repeatedly how to spell words like "so" and "much" and "tight" which he then uses in a love letter to Carol. After awhile, David picks himself off the floor where he has been making moon-eyes at her, and he begins to write a story about his favorite tradition--the Pancake Breakfast held annually at the school.

At recess, Doug, Dick, and Kitty stay in to finish the stories. Dick gets down to work after having a long drink at the fountain. Kitty avoids work by first losing her pencil and then her page as she skips around the room. Doug sits at my table and slowly completes his story, letter by letter, word by word, with much assistance and encouragement from me.

When music practice arrives, Merle suggests that I accompany them to the gym to hear them sing their songs. The grade one classes are arranged in tiers upon the stage.

The music teacher stands at the piano in the middle of the gym floor, playing with one hand and conducting with the other. Not wishing to create a disturbance, I sit at one corner of the gym, but eyes keep swiveling in my direction, so I walk to the centre of the gym and stand beside Merle who is taking her turn at supervision. After they have rehearsed the first song two times, they begin to sing "Free to Be--You and Me." With my recorder in my handbag with just the tip of the microphone protruding, I record their singing, then leave the gym as the restlessness begins to grow.

More cleaning and decorating are going on in the main hallway and display case where little baskets of pink flowers stand before a poster saying "Happy Birthday Alberta."

Back in the classroom, I work feverishly to complete the TV show as a surprise for Merle and the children. I am afraid that it will be another unfinished project otherwise. However, there are more pictures and stories than I had expected. I had just laid them out on the scroll when the children return. Some walk all over the paper. But I am determined to finish the project. The pictures are really good and are worthy of such effort. As I continue to work on the scroll after school, one of the grade one teachers walks in and admires the drawings as well. "Boy, it really scares me," she says, "when I see how much work these kids have done with that kit." Merle looks pleased and more relaxed than she has been for weeks.

May 5, 1980

After the concert. During the week that I have been away, a lot has happened at the school. In addition to the spring concert, the school and community has held their annual Pancake Breakfast. In the classroom, as soon as I appear, it becomes "hugging time." When I finally disengage myself, I sit at the table and await Merle's arrival.

Suddenly, Merle stands in the doorway. She looks over the room, then moves toward the star chart and makes some adjustments. There is a general scuttling back to the desks. David, who has remained in his desk, mutters, "I never done nuttin'!" Charlie enters, carrying his lunch kit, and rushes to the cloakroom. His face is downcast. Merle seems distracted. She calls out some names. These are the people who were not present in the morning. She asks for their notes and their reasons. Carol's reply is interesting. "Where were you this morning, Carol? Why didn't you come to school?" asks Merle. "I don't know," says Carol somewhat saucily.

"I didn't have enough sleep, I guess." She shrugs her shoulders and her crocheted wool shawl slips off her shoulders and falls to the floor. Carol gets up, flouncing her long muumuu gown, and dramatically throws the shawl over her shoulders again. David, across the aisle, snickers, "What are you wearing that thing for?" "Because I'm cold, that's why," Carol replies, tossing her head. The romance must have cooled during my absence.

Merle tells the children that Mrs. Odynak would like to hear them talk about the concert. However, it is too noisy in the room for me to hear their individual voices or to pick them up on tape. With Merle's permission, I take the recorder and microphone from desk to desk. However, the presence of the instrument seems to be inhibitive. They all want to get a turn to speak but freeze when the opportunity comes. It is not working out too well. Instead, I go to the front of the room and hold impromptu interviews with some of the children who want to participate. These interactions are recorded. However, the acoustics and background noise in the room make it difficult to get a clear recording.

The following are some excerpts from the tape which show how individual students experienced the concert.

Elmer: Uhh. . . We sang. ."Free's a Bee' and we sang 'It's a Small,
Small World'. . . and 'My Hat'. .and 'Brother John'. .and
[inaudible]
IR: Did the people like it?
Elmer: [nods]
IR: How did they show they liked it?
Elmer: We were singing well.
Sherman: Ah. .We were "stars!" Mr. Prince said, and we sang songs. .
and we made stuff for the concert....
IR: What did you make?
Sherman: Uhh. .all kinds of things.
Merle: Did anything funny happen while you were doing it?

Terri: We walked down the aisles and we bowed. .and. .uhh. .while I was walking down th aisle, my dad, he said, "Hi!". .and . .I had to bow to Erika!

Merle: Think about what the costumes were like and why you were wearing them....

Katherine: Everybody weared them 'cause they were all from those countries, any countries in the world, and the people who were in costume and they lived in that country but [laughing] I didn't live in Japan. . .

Alice: [shyly] ..We..bowed, and. . . .we went out the door and we had to stand and then we went. . . . . into our classrooms.

Dick: Hi! My name is Dick! I, I was Arabian for the concert. And I know you're singing very nicely 'It's a Small That's a World' and another one was [sings] "My hat it has three corners, Three corners has my hat" [actions] and a Small ....Did I say that already? Oh....so that's my birthday ...... Like, like, like [sings] "Happy Birthday to you! Happy Birthday to you! Happy Birthday dear Alberta! Happy Birthday to you!"

Faye: At the concert, when I was walking, we had to sing, "La, la, la!" And my mom and dad waved at me when I was coming down the alley. . all. .alley place.

IR: Uh hum. .

Faye: And, uh. .and, we, and we, and then we, we all had to bow together. .[embarrassed laugh]. .but I, but I din't bow to some. .some, somebody. . . . .

When the tape is replayed to the class, they are attentive to the portions dealing with themselves but become noisy and restless when they have to listen to the others. The room has an echo and the sound quality is poor. Nevertheless, some of the children seem thrilled to hear their own voices on tape. A few hide their faces when they realize it is their voice on tape. Sherman's face turns redder and redder as he slips down further in his seat. Doug chortles, "That's me! That's me!" Betty sits and dimples as her voice comes on.

Merle walks over to my side and whispers that she has changed her star system, so that is why she had made so many trips to the star chart as the recording took place. "Those who still have their stars at the end of the day or have earned a bonus star will get a special treat," she explains.

The children are told that they will be watching a special show on the carpet--their own TV show! There are gasps of "Oh! What's that?" when they see the TV movie box brought in from the staff room. I am surprised at their attention, since they have just had a lengthy listening session. The blank page at the beginning of the scroll has been left for "credits"--their names as contributing artists. When the show is over, they clap enthusiastically.

Next, Merle reviews the concept of "tradition," then she directs their attention to their stories about their favorite traditions. When the children are asked to read their stories, they have difficulty with the vocabulary. Some are not able to identify their own work after such a long time away from the actual writing experience.

With the teacher's guide open in her lap, Merle proceeds to read the story of "How the Moose Got Its Bell" from the Appendix in the guide. Reading with expression, Merle holds the interest of most members of the group. She stops at various points in the story and asks questions, then continues. The story is a legend. She checks to see whether the children think it is a factual account. Although most say "No!" there are a few "Yeses!" as well.

At recess, Merle tells me that she intends to continue the kit until Thursday of this week.

> I really want them to have the chance to do some of the "fun" things that are left. Although I don't think I'll spend too much time on their own family cultural traditions. They just don't seem to have very many of them. . .
>
> . . . .
>
> I won't be doing any of that sharing with the parents stuff, either, it seems.

When the music period is over, the children return to the classroom and continue with the legend. Merle asks the children to take turns recalling the events in the story. When the story is fully reconstructed, Merle hands out the copies of the student master with the animal characters in the story made into finger puppets. Having decided not to do the suggested dramatization, Merle is sending the sheets home with the children. In the remaining time, they color the sheets.

The principal enters the room and asks for some students to participate in the school system evaluation survey.

As an additional "unfinished job" to be completed, Merle suggests that the children draw a picture of the food that is in the favorite recipes that they have brought from home. These recipes have been typed and will be compiled into a cookbook to be taken home.

As I circulate through the room and interact with the students, I meet Merle near the light switch at the door. "I guess it doesn't work," she says, "I'll have to turn the lights on again. I have this theory about lights." She turns the lights back on. There is no noticeable change in the noise level in the room. "I think that lights turned low are less stimulating. At least they are in most cases."

"Clean-up time," Merle announces. There is a hustle and bustle of activity. Never have I seen such industry! When Merle walks over to the star charts and removes them from the wall, a hush falls over the whole room. She gets a plastic bag from her cupboard and sits down on the step stool.

"Today, those people who kept all their stars and those who got a bonus star will get a. . . box of raisins!" As she calls out the names, I watch the faces of those who have not made the list. Carol argues that she is so going to get some raisins because she had a bonus star. Dick angrily sweeps his sheets of paper off his desk. Then he pulls his sweatshirt over his head. Doug nervously wipes his hands across his face. Some play with pencils on their desks. David, last to return from the survey, walks to his desk, his jean jacket on his arms which are thrust out behind him. "I never get nuttin'," he says philosophically as he sits down.

Before I leave for home, I go to see how the gym had been decorated for the concert. On the wall behind the stage is a huge white map of Alberta. Inside the outline are various symbols: oil derrick, wheat, forests, and so on. A few tables are scattered about on the stage, with colorful construction paper flower baskets lying strewn about. On the wall directly opposite the stage is a huge banner "Welcome to Palisades Annual Pancake Breakfast." On either side of the gym are displays of student work, arranged by room number, and all are related to the Alberta theme. On one wall is a display titled: "Free to Be." This is the grade one display. Merle's class had produced a collection of paintings about "Having Fun in Alberta."

As I admire the paintings, Merle walks on to the stage and begins collecting the flower baskets. I ask her about the concert. "Did the children enjoy it?"

"Well, the first night was better than the second night. But something like a concert is just too much for Matt. He can't handle it. Those practices! What a nightmare!" She goes on, "Well, I've changed my system again. Now everyday, at the end of the day, there is a reward for those who kept their stars or got a bonus star." She tells me that one of the other teachers has a classroom store, complete with tokens. "It sounds like you need an accountant just to keep the records straight," I say jokingly.

"The whole thing, even what I am doing, seems so manipulative!" Merle says. "Somehow, I feel that a good teacher shouldn't have to resort to such tricks. She should be able to motivate them just by good teaching."

"Sounds like an ideal teacher. Show me one," I reply, trying to lighten the mood.

"You know, the irony of it all," she continues. "Alice just couldn't help sharing her secret with me. When they got back from the survey, she came up to me and whispered, 'They asked all kinds of questions.' And I said, 'Oh, what kinds of questions?' Alice said, 'Like do you like your teacher? Yes, no, or don't know'. Knowing Alice, I expected her answer would be 'Don't know,' but she looked at me and said, 'And I said 'Yes!'"

"Matt paid you a similar compliment the other day," I remind her. "He said, 'Nah, you're not grumpy, you're nice!'"

"Yeah, I remember that," says Merle smiling. "I tried to look like it had no effect, but believe me I took it home with me that day!"

May 6, 1980

Canadian family cultural traditions. After a prolonged pencil search and an arbitrary settlement of a dispute over ownership, the social studies lesson begins when Merle asks, "Now who can tell me what a tradition is?" The answers range from Erika's "It's something old like your grandmother has and it's passed on to your children" to David's "He can pull rabbits out of a hat." With some further discussion and clarification of the concept, Merle then goes on to hypothesizing about Canadian family cultural traditions.

Using the materials supplied for Activity 10 in the teacher's guide, Merle provides individual copies of Student Master No. 20 which is identical to the overhead transparency she uses to focus the questioning. The students are expected to select one of two alternative hypotheses relating to the following cultural aspects: foods, clothes, music, language, crafts, holidays. As each question is posed, the students are to circle one of the two boxes in each row. Illustrations accompany each set of printed phrases. The opportunities for misinterpretation are manifold. Here is one example:

> In the first row, the question deals with foods. "Do all Canadian families like the same foods or different foods?"
>
> "What's this?" asks Matt. Merle, standing nearby, says, "I think that's a hotdog. But that's just a picture which is meant to show some foods that are the same and others that are different."
>
> "Hot dogs?" says Matt. "I hate hot dogs. So I guess I'll draw a circle around this one instead."
>
> "Sssshh!" cautions Merle. "Don't do your thinking and guessing out loud. Just mark your paper."

They proceed in this manner through the whole page. During part of the exercise, Sheila is still lacking a pencil. "Use this crayon," I urge her. "It's not allowed," she says, shaking her head.

The activity is interrupted by an announcement over the intercom about which room has won the prize for the highest number of tickets sold to the Pancake Breakfast. Merle resumes the activity. When the word "craft" appears, predictably, Matt wants to know what "craft" means:

> "Craft is something that you like making," says Merle. She uses the pictures on the sheet as an example. "It can be like making coffee mugs, or making scarves, or decorating Easter eggs."
>
> "Mmm," says Matt. "I'll put decorating coffee mugs because my mom likes doing that!"

The rest of the page is completed without further discussion. Then Merle leads a class discussion, item by item, of each question asked on the sheet. Merle attempts to personalize each concept by drawing on the children's own experiences where relevant and feasible. Some of the children's responses are included in the following discussion:

> Suddenly Doug's hand shoots up.
> "Doug, what have you seen?"
> "I seen a man wearing that thing," Doug gestures around his head, "that thing, what's it called, a cape? wrapped around his head and he was wearing a business suit!!"
> "You saw a man wearing a turban around his head?" asks Merle.
> "Yeah, a turban," says Doug, "like this."
> . . . .
> "Now I'd like to know why you guessed the way you did. .Alice?"
> "'Cause some families come from Africa and they like different music," whispers Alice.
> Merle looks startled. "Where were you when you heard African music?"
> "It shows on TV," says Alice.

From the show of hands after voting on each choice, the majority of the class have hypothesized that "Canadian families may like different foods, clothes, music, languages, crafts, and holidays." Through a series of question and answer probes, Merle reveals that most of the children in the class do not have a strong sense of ethnic identity nor do their families celebrate special holidays. The exceptions are Erika, of German descent, and Charlie, of Greek-Ukrainian descent.

As an introduction to the listening activity involving the family and cultural traditions of Canadian families, Merle attempts to have the students recall some of the traditions of each family from the previous group work activities. However, the tape containing these traditions has not yet been played. Some confusion results and Merle's claim that they are getting "rusty" about these families seems unfounded.

The children are called to the carpet. The first portion of the tape dealing with the Morin family is played, then, with the help of the study prints related to the concept, a class discussion follows. The same procedures are repeated for the remaining families. Since some language phrases have been included on the tape, the children leave for recess with calls of "Sayonara!"

After recess, Merle reviews some of the content from the tape and study prints, using the study prints as a motivator and focal point for the discussion. During the discussion of the various cultural crafts, Merle offers the suggestion that perhaps the class might enjoy making the voyageur hats found on the Morin study prints. [The various craft activities suggested for each group have been outlined in Activity 14 in the teacher's guide.]

The last period of the day is spent in the library. Upon their return to the classroom, the children grow more quiet as reward time approaches. This time Merle gives out cookies. At the back of the room, David keeps calling: "Teacher! I helped clean up the room!" He is ignored. He tries again. "Teacher! I cleaned up the room!"

But it is no use. For that's the way the cookies crumbled that day.

May 7, 1980

Slouching toward the end. On the second last day of observation, I bring an assortment of arts and crafts objects from my family's travels. As a finale for this classroom experience, I think the children might enjoy interacting with some of the cultural objects. However, I plan to discuss the possibility with Merle and let her make the decision. I leave the objects in the staff room.

Merle announces the beginning of the social studies period with a language game adapted from Activity 13 in the teacher's guide. Basically, the idea is to show how language is an expression of a particular culture's point of view. As introductory warm-up activities, the guide suggests role playing social situations that require communication of needs without language. This portion of the activity is attempted by Merle as an opener to the lesson. However, the children she selects for the role playing have a great deal of difficulty understanding the tasks involved. The resulting experiences are frustrating for both Merle and the children.

The next part of the language activity involves the display of alphabet charts in Ukrainian and Japanese and the use of phonetically pronounced words and phrases in the two languages. Although the children's interest is aroused by the materials, the hurried nature of the presentation and the previous activity have negative effects on the interaction that is attempted. In the end, the students get study sheets that they can take home and use if interested.

After the recess break, the children leave for music and Merle and I discuss the plans for the rest of the social studies period today and the last one next day. She says that she has prepared a considerable amount for them to do in the remaining time. After music she plans to have them make voyageur hats as suggested in the guide. When I bring up the cultural craft display idea, she seems interested and offers to add some items from her own collection. She will also let the children bring something from home as part of the sharing experience.

After recess, Merle returns to the sheets she had distributed before. She introduces each English word, followed by the phonetic pronunciation in Japanese syllables of the Japanese word. The words are: "Hello, Goodbye, Please, Thank you." Her struggles with the phonetic pronunciation of the phrases seem to embarrass her and she looks toward me for confirmation. Both the children and I feel uneasy during the exercise. We are all tired. It would have been better to have dropped it altogether.

The last activity centres around the construction of the voyageur hats. However, Merle takes time to provide some historical background to the activity. Although the room is noisy, several of the children appear interested and contribute to the discussion of how these brave men traveled long ago when there were no roads or planes or trains. For added color, she plays the rollicking "En Roulant Ma Boule" from the tape. This voyageur's song invites action and soon the room is full of straining rowers. When the music ends, the air is charged with excitement. They want to go on rowing. Suddenly, Dick tosses Kitty's sweater across the room, then he tries to trip Katherine. Although stars fall, some children continue to row vigorously as the melody runs through their heads.

It is time to start the construction of the voyageur hats. Although Merle is well prepared and I am there to assist with problems, the over-stimulated children demand individual attention now. Repeatedly, Merle calls for quiet, but the room is not just noisy but jumpy, excited. In their excitement, they pull on the hats too roughly and the hats tear. To my dismay, head sizes vary so much that for some the hats are too big, for others they are too small. Unable to wait a turn, they curl the brims. Merle, about to show them how to make the tassel, issues a last call for order. It goes unheeded. The noise is almost deafening. "That's it. We're going to stop right now!" Merle says in an angry voice. She swoops up the hats, just as the storm is about to break.

Suddenly lightening strikes. "Heads down!" she orders sharply. "Down on the desks. We are going to have five minutes of absolute silence." Bodies stop wriggling, heads drop down. The room grows quieter. Merle sits upon the step stool. Her face is dark, her lips compressed. I creep back to the table. I dare not take notes. It would be inhuman. I sit down, feeling exhausted.

Finally, at 3:25 P.M. the silence is lifted. "Heads down please!" but the rule is not so stringently enforced. She tells them about our sharing plans for my last day tomorrow. She suggests that some of them might like to bring something for one day only.

Today the reward is again a cookie.

Carol is asked to remain after school for a "talk." Amazed at Merle's patience and endurance, I watch and listen as she slowly tries to get Carol to examine her behavior. Apparently Carol had been fighting with David.

In the staff room I drop down with exhaustion onto the lounge. When Merle enters the staff room, she sits down beside me. "That Carol!" she says, lighting up a cigarette. Her eyes are half-closed. "Do you know they've tired me out so much that last night I went to bed at 10 o'clock and I didn't get up this morning until 8:15!"

May 8, 1980

A cultural smorgasbord. When I arrive at the school at 1:00 P.M. I find Merle in the staff room, tuning up the small mountain dulcimer she has brought. I marvel at her composure. She looks rested and her usual serene self. I've brought her a small gift as a token of my appreciation, but nothing can express quite how I feel now that the study and this close working relationship are drawing to a close. She expresses regret "for not having done more." I thank her for allowing me to share a classroom experience with her and her students.

The children await my arrival expectantly. "Did you bring something?" they ask excitedly. Elmer rushes up and fingers my Ukrainian wooden beads. "Did someone make that?" he asks. Merle had explained to them that a craft was something made, not bought.

Before the "cultural happening can take place," however, the room has to be cleaned up and space has to be made on the tables for the displays. The children bustle about the room, which becomes noisier, but it is the sound of purposeful activity, not the out-of-control behavior of yesterday. It is a subdued expectancy, a tiptoeing kind of behavior.

At 1:13 P.M. the sharing time begins with the children's contributions first. Rosie shows her beautiful Irish doll that plays "When Irish Eyes Are Smiling." Terri has brought a small china vase with a few white feathers in it. "This is Irish china that my mom got from Germany," she says. When Merle turns it over, I see the stamp: "Made in Japan." Katherine displays a carved wooden incense box from India which "smells nice too." So does Sheila's orange-scented candle. Judy has brought her Anansi record again. Betty talks about the needlepoint that her mother had made for Miss Johnson. Carol wears her wool poncho made by her grandmother, and Merle has brought her Peruvian poncho made from alpaca wool. Sherman carries his Siwash sweater because the room is too warm to wear it. The class listens to the Anansi the Spider song on Judy's record and Merle tells the story of Anansi the Spider since the books she had ordered from the library haven't arrived yet.

Merle compliments the children for being so attentive and quiet during the sharing. I slip off to the staff room and bring back the collection. When Merle disappears from the room, I wonder what to do. The children are already getting up off the carpet where they were supposed to remain during the display. I dangle the amber necklace from Russia and tell them to examine it closely for the little insect parts embedded in the resin. Like Merle, I take time to provide a little bit of background information on how amber was formed. They pass the necklace from hand to hand and examine it in the light.

Next, I pull out the red Greek slippers with the pom-poms, and before I can quiz them on where they think they had come from, Charlie, his eyes as big as saucers, blurts out, "Greece!" and looking at the faces around him, he delivers his surprise. "And they're worn by men. . . in skirts!" Other objects are pulled out of my bag--a mosaic pin from Italy, a black lacquered box from Russia, wooden knives and forks, carved wooden peasant figurines, an embroidered stole from Hungary. . . Elmer bursts out laughing. "Hungary? You mean like 'gulp, gulp, gulp'?" I explain the country to them, then bring out a boomerang. I let them guess where it came from. David's hand shoots up, "Australia." "How did you know?" I ask. "I saw it on TV," he replies. They like the miniature Japanese rain umbrella, the Indian camel bells, the African mask. However, when I bring out the dagger, I hold on to it firmly and let them look at its sharp blade from a distance. There are many more such items, but the most popular one in the collection is the set of nesting dolls from Russia.

When my exhibit is over, Merle adds to the display her family's lacquered Bible box, a delicate Chinese fan, a Norwegian "kitchen witch," a leather shadow marionette from Indonesia, and of course, her dulcimer, which she proceeds to play for them.

When the showing time is over, the children are told that they can handle the objects carefully. "Can we put on a show?" asks Rosie, her eyes bright with excitement. "Well, not a class show," says Merle, "but you can have a pretend show in your head as you dress up if you like." Rosie immediately drapes the stole over her shoulders, slips on Carol's poncho which she lets slide down over her hips, and holding the fan, she parades back and forth. A luncheon cloth over his shoulders, Charlie announces, "I am a shepherd." Others sit on the carpet and take the Russian dolls apart and put them back together again and again. Someone strolls by in a dashiki, lion-skin slippers on his feet. Another peers through the wooden mask and makes menacing noises. Dick, his ears to the wires, strums the dulcimer softly as he tries to pick out a tune. Jennifer is merciless with the Indian bells, ringing them from side to side. Elmer, the artist, looks closely at the bright peasant patterns and designs. Another child sits in the corner and looks at the Japanese prints. "I saw this on TV," he says. The sharing and imaginative playing go on until Merle calls a halt to the excitement at 3:00 P.M. when she wisely chooses to read a Japanese folk story about a fox. The children return the objects to the tables and sit down quietly in their desks. Some put their heads down and rest as they listen.

At 3:15 P.M. story time is over. Merle takes down the star chart. A hush falls over the room. She calls out the names of the people who have kept all their stars or have received a bonus star. The reward today is not something tangible like cookies or raisins, but a few extra minutes playing with the cultural display. As the seven people move toward the tables, the rest keep their heads down at their desks and watch silently. During the last five minutes, it is clean up time. There are no arguments or disputes. The room is tidy. At 3:30 P.M. they get dressed and go home. As I put the articles away, Alice asks shyly, "May I try it one last time?" Glancing longingly at the Russian dolls, she appeals to me with her eyes. But soon she has to leave because she rides the bus. But Carol is there to help me and to play.

In the staff room, I thank Merle once again and ask her if I can contact her if I have any further questions. "Certainly. We never did get very far with our scheduled interviews, did we?"

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A Shifting of Perspectives

This study has been an experience for me--an exhausting, draining chapter in my life-history. Yet, like Rosalie Wax, "I was changed as a person by doing fieldwork"--by the things I learned about others and myself as I moved from an initial Thou-relationship to a We-relationship in this face-to-face encounter with the classroom life-worlds of a teacher and her students. In retrospect, Wax's advice on doing fieldwork in a difficult field situation might have helped ease some of the strain of those early weeks and months when I grappled with the symptoms of what Wolcott (1975) has called "ethnographic fatigue" and struggled to survive in the setting.

> The strain of trying to maintain a high standard of professional competency in a situation where he is scarcely able to work at all is particularly hard to endure, because the newly arrived fieldworker is existing in an abnormal situation, an alien limbo, cut off both from the supports and refuges of his own society and from those of the society in which he is vainly trying to "immerse" himself. To make matters worse, the anxiety which automatically arises when the self is threatened can, in many normal situations, be relieved by hard work, for hard, systematic work is one of the major psychological refuges of the student. But when a researcher is suffering from extreme anxiety because he cannot find a way to begin to do the work he knows he ought to be doing, and he has no friend to whom he can go for advice or comfort, he is truly up a creek (Wax, 1971, p. 92).

Without overstating the idea of a classroom as an "alien culture" for an educator and a former student who has lived through variations of the same Western schooling experience, nevertheless, I was "a stranger in a strange land" those first few weeks. For I had entered the world of the classroom with the perspective of a curriculum developer first, a teacher second. Proceeding from what Esland (1971) calls the "subject perspective" and Keddie (1971) calls the "educationist view" as opposed to the "teacher's view," I found it difficult to accept the fact that social studies had such low priority in the teacher's and the school's instructional program. When Merle began using the Kanata Kit 1 materials and adapting them in her own way, I was often furious at the way the curriculum was being "sabotaged."

Yet, as the study drew nearer to the end (of her endurance and mine it seemed at times), I often wished that she would just "forget it," that she would do what "needed doing" rather than "finishing the activity we started yesterday." I was now coming to see the curriculum and the materials from a "pedagogical" or "teacher" perspective. The group work exercises in research provide a glaring example of the discrepancies between her preferred teaching style and the inquiry model outlined in the kit. Not only was the idea of group research pedagogically questionable for use with young children, but with five groups operating simultaneously, with this particular class it became a series of miseducative experiences for the majority of the children. Paradoxically, as I was beginning to accept responsibility for this development error in which I had let content win over pedagogical common sense in deciding to use groups in research, Merle was moving in the other direction. Perhaps to accommodate me, she tried to focus directly on decision-making skills as preparation for the group leadership responsibilities. She also expressed surprise at how much of the content they were able to recall and record on their group charts. As my expectations were lowered, hers were raised.

This "passing of pedagogical ships in the night" was also evident in my changing attitudes toward the need for more structuring of learning experiences and classroom order. As a "tough-minded" educator I tended to prefer "work" over "play," a structured learning environment, and a disciplined classroom. I had forgotten how messy grade one classrooms can get if children are encouraged to become independent learners in an unstructured learning environment, and I had forgotten how exhausting it can be after a long day to have to remind them to "clean up, clean up, clean up." Just as I was beginning to feel more comfortable with the surrounding clutter, Merle made a concerted effort to "straighten the room out," and the appearance of the classroom changed--just a little. The lack of routines for distributing and storing classroom equipment and supplies was frustrating for me as the "perennial pencil searches" took place around me. So were the prolonged disputes over whose turn to be group leader--they exhausted the children's patience and my own before the group activity began.

I felt uncomfortable with the star charts and Good Guy Badges and, later, with the raisins and cookies as rewards. However, when I was left in charge and behavior "got out of control," I was as helpless as Merle was without such drastic measures as the ultimate threat or promise. As I watched Merle handle the countless classroom and schoolyard disputes, I admired her calm, her sense of justice, and above all her insistence on respecting their dignity as human beings. Yet, as the behavior continued, I began to share her sense of frustration that such humanistic measures had no immediate effect in changing their behavior.

Beginning to Think Positively

As some of my biases and assumptions about what a proper learning environment should be began to fade into the background, my attention shifted to the kinds of learning experiences she was providing during the teacher-directed activities. Her "deep" understanding of how young children think and learn, combined with her infinite supply of patience and good-humored tolerance, resulted in some exciting learning experiences that were definitely what Dewey (1963) would call "educative"--growth to promote further growth. A striking example of such an educative experience in which the "intended curriculum" and the "experienced curriculum" became indistinguishable was the mapping exercise which culminated in the children's mapping of their favorite rooms. But sometimes there was a discrepancy in our interpretations of what was worthwhile experience and what was not. For example, Merle showed me a story that Betty had written about her family. "I'm really so pleased with what Betty did--look, she had the word 'families' and it didn't fit the meaning of the sentence so she erased the 's' and made it singular--'familie'--and she figured that out by herself!" I felt ashamed for I had looked at the same paper but I had seen only the spelling error. Merle had seen more.

Frequently, Merle would change tactics during a teacher-learner exchange or interaction when she perceived that the strategy she was using was not effective. Such pedagogical flexibility and creativity were evident mostly during the language arts lessons which she sometimes integrated with the social studies. Regrettably, by limiting most observations to the afternoon, such language arts experiences, scheduled in the morning, were not included in the study.

"Being a 'Child-centred' and 'Tender-minded' Teacher"

To use conventional labels for describing Merle's pedagogical perspective, I have found the scheme devised by Peter Miller (1976) very appropriate for referring to Merle as a "tender-minded" teacher creating a "child-centred" learning environment for her students. Miller's four archetypal educational positions--"child-centredness" versus "non-child-centredness" and "teacher-mindedness" versus "tough-mindedness"--are based on "the preferences of professional educators for educational theories which appear to support granting more or less freedom for the child, or authority for the teacher" (Miller, 1976, p. 334).

Merle's "child-centredness" was evident in her belief in the innate "goodness" of each child ["There's something basically decent about David"], with some exceptions against which she struggled ["I know I should trust Sherman, but there's something sneaky about him"]. Her scheduling of independent "cubbyhole activities" reflected her belief in freedom of choice and action, freedom to engage in play ["Work first, then play"], and freedom to explore an unstructured learning environment.

Her "tender-mindedness" was seen in her emphasis on free will, her tolerance of mildly disruptive behavior and inattention, and her reluctance to enforce standards ["I hate to push them"]. Her insistence that the starting point of all inquiry be the child's personal, subjective experience was another example of her "tender-mindedness."

Up Against the Wall: Freedom and Control

However, the issue of freedom and authority was raised continuously as classroom exigencies forced her to compromise her ideals and to resort to stars and cookies as a means of disciplinary control ["I know a good teacher doesn't need to do those things"]. Compounding her difficulties with classroom order and discipline was her reluctance to establish and follow classroom routines that might stifle spontaneity and creativity. Her introspective nature permitted her to recognize these contradictions in her own behavior, and as a sensitive, perceptive teacher she was forever trying to find other more humane ways of dealing with "some people who have problems."

Her use of classroom meetings based on the Glasser model of non-directive teaching showed a desire to create a therapeutic learning environment where individual students with problems could experience a warm, positive involvement within the classroom group. Here was another anomaly. The Glasser model stressed the Social Problem Solving Meeting, yet the structure of her learning environment was individualized to the point of being fragmented, a collection of separate beings sharing a physical space. Even some use of dyads would have been better than the individualistic approach to everything, including the communal sharing of supplies but not the sharing of responsibility for looking after them.

There was another aspect of the teacher-student relationship that seemed problematic. There was minimal physical contact between the teacher and the children, yet some, like Carol, were hungry for the human touch. On the other hand, having entered into some close relationships with the children, I tried to extricate myself from what became a difficult situation with some children, such as Dick, when they demanded my exclusive attention. It was emotionally exhausting to share with the children their joys and sorrows, for in that classroom there seemed to be a disproportionate number of children with problems that could not be solved by the school alone.

Teacher stress, anxiety, and burnout are topics of concern in the educational literature. Those working with children who have emotional problems, a trying job, may need more time off to replenish their resources. The mismatch between efforts and results, a frequent cause of burnout in the helping professions, can lead to irritability, disillusionment, depression, and exhaustion. I know that I felt physically exhausted and emotionally drained some days after spending only a half-day in the classroom. Perhaps Merle, fearing burnout, wisely kept her emotions in check and consciously separated her professional from her private life. Certainly the added stress of being a "surplus" teacher had not helped the situation.

Experiencing Curriculum: A Visit to the Fair

The curriculum literature is full of metaphorical language, much of it borrowed from the military and industrial arenas. The curriculum change models have also reflected the technical, instrumental interest in efficiency and control. Some of the studies on innovation and change have followed an agricultural-botanical model, comparing the spread of an educational idea or practice to the diffusion of a new seed or method of cultivation which, once adopted, will speed up growth and productivity.

I'd like to propose an alternative agricultural metaphor for describing the curriculum experience as I saw it in this particular classroom. It involves the use of what Mann (1969) calls a "disclosure model" for representing a critical discovery. Unlike a "picturing model" which bears a close resemblance to the phenomena it describes, a disclosure model shares only certain key structural similarities with the phenomena. Because of its intrinsic qualities and not its one-to-one correspondence to an observed reality, the disclosure model is first examined in terms of the propositions it holds which are then super-imposed upon phenomena and tested for "goodness of fit." If the model "fits" then it has the potential to disclose or open a world. This is in contrast to a picturing model which is judged for its static accuracy.

The metaphor can act as a mediator between semantic and analogic modes of thought (Beck, 1978). Like a disclosure model, a metaphorical comparison is always limited to certain relevant parallels, with the irrelevant features disregarded. According to Beck, "a verbal metaphor can. . . be understood as a device whose function is to inject the results of analogic reasoning processes into the semantic domain" (p. 85). The basic processes of metaphoric thought, as described by Fernandez (1974), can be captured in the idea of movement between partial and abstract principles used on a verbal plane and the concrete, sensual, holistic images that exist on the nonverbal plane.

In this study, three different perspectives on the curriculum experience were held by the designers and developers of the Kanata Kit Project, by the classroom teacher, and by the researcher after vicarious participation in the classroom experience. These perspectives can be succinctly described using the three "metaphorical roots of curriculum design" identified by Kliebard (1972, pp. 403-404). They are respectively, the metaphor of production, the metaphor of growth, and the metaphor of travel.

In the metaphor of production, the curriculum is the means of production; the student is the raw material to be transformed in the hands of a skilled technician into a finished, useful product. Using rigorous design specifications to plot the desired outcomes in advance, the Kanata Kit Project, as an example of the "production" metaphor, emphasized efficient means of production (an inquiry-based set of curriculum materials) so that raw materials (children) could be channeled into the proper production systems (responsible citizenship).

As a developer with the Project, I had felt constrained by the technical specifications and the admonitions to stick with the standardized unit format and process of inquiry model that had been devised. At times it seemed that children were bent and twisted and squeezed to fit the model, not conversely. When the aesthetic aspects of curriculum development were eclipsed by the dominant technological approach, I had sought refuge in metaphoric thinking and had let that guide some of my development decisions. Given the constraints of the development situation, curriculum development became, for me, "patchwork quilt making!" Piecing together old materials (from the Canadian Content Project) and some newer ideas (from previous drafts), I had added some "appliques and aesthetic decorations"--expressive activities to balance the heavy emphasis on empirical research activities (listening, observing, hypothesizing, generalizing). Within the parameters set by the Project design, I had managed to fashion a reasonably attractive quilt (Kanata Kit 1) whose serviceability could only be tested in a classroom.

The metaphor of production was not compatible with Merle's views of curriculum as the metaphor of growth. For Merle and other romanticists, curriculum is a "greenhouse" where students are nourished like young plants of every variety. Tended by a caring, loving gardener, each plant is coaxed into full bloom. Great solicitude in nurturing each child's potential is the expressed teaching goal. In practice, however, the organic metaphor breaks down, for children are not static plants. They move about, interact, and shape the environment around them. Their behavior can exhaust the most dedicated gardner. Some plants get neglected. Others die at an early age.

The third metaphoric root of curriculum as travel has been modified in my model to show curriculum as "a trip to the fair." The metaphor is rooted in my own agrarian background and linked with my earlier mataphoric designation of the Kanata Kit as a patch-work quilt sent for display at the fair. The main idea is that students move along some route (midway) under the leadership of a teacher (guide). The journey or visit affects each traveler/visitor differently. Much depends on why they have come to the fair: to learn, to share a sense of community, or to be entertained and amused. In some instances, the tour route (curriculum guide) is prescribed for the visitor whose leader, in practice, may choose to follow it studiously, or to discard it and meander down the midway in search of adventures to discover and experience.

Teachers like Merle, who value their professional autonomy, resist external attempts to control their interactions with their students through prescribed curricula. They prefer to have the freedom to plot the curriculum route for their students and themselves. In her "theory" of curriculum, Merle tried to strike a balance between work and play, freedom and control. In practice, however, her "planned learning experiences" sometimes became a parody of her intentions. In this study of classroom experience of curriculum as a visit to the fair, I saw some children riding the merry-go-round, while others failed to grasp the brass ring. Still others spent their time in the fun-house, while Merle took small groups to visit various exhibits (mostly Language Arts and Mathematics). In this context, Kanata Kit 1 became just one more exhibit competing for attention in what was already a very busy "day at the fair."

Some Comments on the Meaning of "Curriculum"

For those persons or groups in a policy-making position it may be difficult to accept the fact that the formal or "official" curriculum, outlined in a written document, can be reduced in the teachers' vernacular to "that blue book, or the one in the three-ring binder." That was the way one teacher replied to my question about where the 1978 Alberta Social Studies Curriculum, Interim Edition, could be located in that data-congested staff room. The "blue book" she referred to was the Program of Studies which shared shelf space with a multitude of other documents. The "binder," as a curriculum document, referred to the school system's instructional units in social studies. Claiming unfamiliarity with the newly-revised social studies curriculum guide, the teacher suggested I try the social studies "contact person" on staff, who, when approached by me, indicated vaguely that "there are two copies floating around somewhere."

For those curriculum theorists still wedded to the Tyler (1950) ends-means rationale in curriculum, instructional planning should proceed logically and rationally from a set of pre-determined objectives which can then be used to evaluate student learning outcomes. By manipulating the environment, the teacher can control the learning experiences of students. In this view, the individual learner is treated as a reactor, not an initiator, as the teacher strives to incorporate principles and strategies derived from empirical educational research and theorizing.

In contrast, according to Merle, "you get so involved in what you are doing, it's just the teacher and the kids,. . . you tend to forget about such things as objectives." Operating pragmatically, she prefers to "do something first, then ask, did it work?" As a child-centred educator, she tries to let children participate in deciding how to use their own time. Such "intentional temporality" (Berman, 1968, pp. 4-5) requires periods for "thinking, touching, wondering, applying, dreaming, loving, working, and the multitudinous other kinds of activities of which human beings are capable." Such an "instructional" curriculum passes through the teacher's philosophical value screens and professional competencies. From a pedagogical point of view, the intended curriculum with its planned learning experiences for students suggests a possible starting point, but not a prescriptive guide for structuring student experiences.

As disclosed by this study, the curriculum as "experienced by" the children differed from the "planned for" experiences based on the assumptions of the Kanata Kit designers and developers. For example, aspects of the social inquiry model translated into the Kanata Kit 1 materials appeared inappropriate to the interests and needs of young children. The main value issue, "Should all Canadian families be the same?" became a non-issue for these children who, as Merle stated, found the concept of "family" too abstract to define. Because Kanata Kit 1 was intended to focus on Topic C in the prescribed social studies curriculum, it was assumed (erroneously in this case) that the preceding topics would have laid the foundation for expanding the children's concept of family to include families from other cultural groups.

Other features of the process of inquiry appeared problematic. The hypotheses exercises were misinterpreted by some students and most students were indifferent to the group-work research processes as outlined in the teacher's guide. Merle's determined efforts to teach decision-making skills directly through role playing and indirectly through classroom use showed how difficult it was for such egocentric young children to grasp the concept of group decision-making and sharing of group tasks.

Since implementation of the kit activities terminated before Part III, Conclusion, there are no data on whether the children were able to resolve the issue and carry out a plan of action (plan a class party based on the idea of cultural sharing). Although Merle decided "to drop that parent sharing bit," she did display some of the work done by the children and she indicated that parents were welcome to browse through the room during the spring concert event. The children's obvious enjoyment as they interacted with the various cultural artifacts showed the potential of such a cultural sharing.

The Kanata Kit attempt to "translate theory to practice" (Weigl, 1979-1980) suggests possible questions for further discussion or research:

- How suitable is the inquiry process model adopted by the Kanata Kits Project for use with primary grade children?
- What does the "social action" component of the model mean to primary and elementary grade teachers?
- Do pre-packaged materials such as the Kanata Kits extend or limit children's classroom experiences?

This case study of a classroom experience with a set of social studies curriculum materials suggests some possible implications for the field of curriculum implementation. As indicated in the review of studies on curriculum implementation, early change efforts in education and curriculum assumed that in a change-oriented culture anything that appeared new or "innovative" would be eagerly accepted. However, the disappointing results of recent curriculum development projects generated a re-examination of implementation strategies which had neglected "diffusion" of the proposed change. Consequently, more efforts were directed toward instituting effective "delivery systems" and "installation strategies."

Fullan and Pomfret's (1977) dimensions of curricular change can be applied to the Kanata Kit 1 classroom experience. In terms of the subject matter or content that the teacher was expected to transmit to the students or the students were expected to acquire through transaction with the kit materials, both the teacher and the developer concluded that for this particular class of students there was an information overload on the audiotapes about the five Canadian families. More significantly, the teacher commented that if she were to use the kit again, she would use fewer families and would use examples of cultural groups represented within the class rather than those selected for in-depth treatment in the kit.

Another dimension of change involved structural alterations in grouping students for instruction and in temporal arrangements or scheduling of social studies. Since grouping procedures have already been examined, the time allocation for social studies will be discussed. On paper, the time allowed for social studies instruction in this classroom was 220 minutes per week. However, prior to the study, the teacher indicated that some social studies time had been transferred for additional language arts instruction. Social studies had received little explicit attention because her priorities lay with language arts and mathematics, both subject to system-wide standardized testing. As indicated in the study, social studies was the "Cinderella" of the timetable, relegated to the last period of the day. Furthermore, the teacher stated that she was not much in favor of teaching social studies in the primary grades and had no intention of changing her timetabling so that social studies appeared in the morning when the children were less tired.

A third dimension of curricular change involved expected behavioral changes in the users of the kit materials. Teachers and students were expected to follow the model of inquiry as outlined in order to develop and practise specific inquiry skills as prescribed in the Alberta social studies curriculum. However, the developer included a variety of expressive activities designed to complement the empirical emphasis on acquiring knowledge. The activities, alternating with the research activities or placed in the "follow-up," were frequently the ones that the teacher chose to expand through integration with the language arts. As mentioned previously, the social action component of the inquiry model was not attempted by the teacher.

The fourth dimension of implementation concerned the teacher's knowledge and understanding of the components of the Kanata Kit design (its philosophy, values, assumptions, objectives, subject matter, and role relationships). The teacher had attended a half-day in-service on the new social studies where the one existing Kanata Kit Two had been displayed. However, she could not recall seeing the inquiry model as part of the workshop. Her understanding of the teaching of social studies skills, such as mapping, had come from school system units and from guidelines offered by social studies consultants. When a system-wide in-service social studies workshop had been offered, she had chosen to attend the workshop in language arts.

The fifth dimension of curriculum implementation focused on the user's valuing and commitment to the Kanata Kit approach to social studies. As indicated in the study, the teacher admitted that she started the implementation with a negative attitude. However, after the successful lesson on mapping, she became more enthused about teaching social studies and commented favorably on the convenience of having all the materials available in a multi-media kit.

Fullan and Pomfret (1977) also examined the determinants of curriculum implementation which they grouped into four broad categories: 1) characteristics of the innovation, 2) strategies used to introduce the innovation, 3) nature of the adopting units, and 4) macro socio-political factors. These determinants can be applied to the case study of the implementation of Kanata Kit 1.

In describing her impressions of the Kanata Kit after the initial stages of implementation, the teacher in this study remarked on the innovative attempt to make the process of hypothesizing appear more concrete for young children. She indicated that without the explicit translation of the social inquiry model into accessible materials she would not have attempted to implement the new social studies.

Although a new school in-service and system in-service workshop on the new social studies curriculum and related materials had been provided within the past school year, the teacher in this study had found these of limited value in contributing to a better understanding of social studies. Fullan and Pomfret's finding that intensive in-service teacher training (rather than single workshops or pre-service training) as an important strategy for effective implementation seemed supported by a comment on a personal experience of a workshop by another staff member. After observing the audio-visual orientation materials "showing a group of people sitting around and talking about the new social studies," she concluded that the session had been a "waste of time and money." One of her immediate concerns was how to plan the social studies program for her class a year in advance because of school-based budgeting when the expected support materials (Kanata Kits) still had not arrived. Thus, the managerial perspective on curriculum implementation which stresses teacher re-socialization may require closer examination. On the other hand, adopting the user perspective by allowing users to make the implementation decision is equally ineffective if the necessary resource supports are lacking.

The third set of factors affecting implementation, the nature of the adopting unit, has direct relevance to this case study of a curriculum implementation. The school as the adopting unit displayed various organizational process variables not conducive to implementation. Social studies had low priority in the school's budgeting for the instructional program. The other grade one teachers showed no interest in using the Kanata Kit 1 materials concurrently with the teacher. When the school concert practices took more instructional time, social studies was dropped entirely. In addition to the school factors, the teacher's capacity to use the innovation can affect the implementation process. In this study, the teacher was well-trained, creative, and highly capable. But she did not consider social studies important in the primary grades.

Large scale programs of curricular reform are to a large extent political acts, according to Fullan and Pomfret (1977, p. 386). The degree to which political agencies at multi-tiered levels of decision-making accept centralized proposals for change can have a significant impact on the process of implementation. In this study, the teacher considered central (provincial) authorities' attempts to direct curricular changes in smaller urban and rural areas of some value in order to maintain standards. However, she believed that such prescriptiveness and control were unnecessary in the larger urban centres with sufficient resources and personnel of their own to assist teachers with their professional responsibilities.

What House (1975) called the "teacher predicament" was evident in this study where a teacher attempted to implement a set of curriculum materials without having the time and energy to cope with this extra demand on her time. Such local support, however, is dependent on resolution of the centralization-decentralization issue in curriculum. Current provincial trends toward greater prescriptiveness in the "official" curricula and the use of standardized testing are a move away from the recent experimentation with more open-ended social studies curricula. However, such policy-decisions must take into account the "pressing realities" of classroom life faced by teachers and students in today's schools.

This study of curriculum implementation suggests some possible areas for further discussion:

- How can the Kanata Kits be adapted for use in a variety of classrooms with special needs? e.g., special education, bilingual, split grades.
- How can in-service workshops on new materials and programs more closely meet the needs of classroom teachers?
- How much time, if any, should be spent on social studies in the lower primary grades?
- Do packaged materials such as the Kanata Kits help teachers translate social studies program goals into classroom practice?
- Can alternative models of curriculum development affect the process of implementation?

Some Comments on Methodology

This study was based on a belief that a descriptive case study of a curriculum implementation in a classroom setting should capture and express the holistic quality of the everyday life in classrooms. During the pre-fieldwork and early fieldwork stages of the research, the methodology of participant observation or classroom ethnography seemed to provide the framework for conducting such a study of curriculum. It combined a prolonged exposure in the field setting with flexible methods for discovering unexpected events and meanings which could be incorporated into the research study.

In the literature on participant-observation studies, there is no agreement on how specifically the problem should be stated or defined, nor whether the researcher should use existing theoretical constructs from such disciplines as sociology, anthropology, psychology, or social psychology, or should adopt an atheoretical stance.

In this study, the "conceptual baggage" carried into the field setting was based on some notions about curriculum implementation gathered from a literature search. Using the Kanata Kit implementation as a basic parameter for the study still allowed the flexibility of "tracking" about the field setting until a "problem" was discovered. While such open-endedness had its advantages, some of its disadvantages included a fear of being drowned in a sea of field notes where everything seemed to have some potential research interest. The desire to fit the curriculum-in-use into a larger context than the social studies instructional period itself led to a greater and greater focus on the classroom experience generally, which led to the school setting, which led to the surrounding community. . . . Finally, "ethnographic fatigue" and the need to keep up with the field notes from one observation period to the next helped limit the study for survival reasons.

Gaining entry and locating a site are important aspects of the fieldwork study that are seldom reported in detail, leaving the novice fieldworker wondering if the problems she or he is experiencing are unique. The lengthy, and sometimes frustrating, negotiations with school gatekeepers and the anxieties about presenting a credible image of self and study have been reported in detail as part of the research process. Like Norman Mailer in The Armies of the Night (1968), the researcher-as-artist built "crooked towers" to view the educational experience in a classroom, revealing very early to the reader her "bent telescope" and "warped lenses" so that the reader could make the necessary corrections. This personal element in research, not common in conventional reports, became a vital part of this study as the classroom experience unfolded.

Unlike the objective, descriptive-analytic language that appeared in the fieldwork manuals and handbooks, my field notes were soon peppered with dialogue and metaphoric expressions. While transcribing my "jotted" notes into a "full" chronological journal, eidetic imagery led me to recall in almost photographic accuracy details of the setting and of transpired events that appeared again in the "vivid present," although they were a product of reflection. Without noticing the transition, I dropped the "objective" style of recording and began using the first person pronoun and the "ethnographic present" tense. However, I was full of misgivings about the "acceptability" of such unorthodoxy.

At a low, depressing point in my study, just as I began to worry about whether I would survive the strain of the contradictions and paradoxes I was encountering in my daily observations, I had the "greenhouse" experience. So unsettling was this sudden encounter with death, that everything seemed to come together--the classroom observations and my poor battered ego struggling to survive its daily erosions. That weekend, I discovered "New Journalism" which offered a way out of my dilemma about how the essence of the classroom experience could be captured and disclosed.

From that point, my field notes reflected a literary, New Journalist style, but inwardly there was this nagging doubt about how I would analyze the masses of data I had accumulated. Frantically, I began testing hypotheses, as described in the study. But that approach seemed fruitless. Again, I discovered that there were alternatives to the modes of logic or statistical analysis used in conventional research. To my amazement and delight, for this had not been part of my graduate training in research, I learned that new perspectives could be found in the humanities and the arts for conveying the social meaning derived from empirical observation and introspection. Such literary expression seemed more natural to my analogic mode of thinking than the discursive language of most research writing.

My review of literature, which became part of the research process, reflects this shifting of perspective from "studying curriculum," reported in a third person, dispassionate voice, to "experiencing curriculum" where Self appears again. The discovery process was not linear but cyclical. Although I had read some of Schutz's writing in the past, I did not consciously use his theory as an interpretive framework when I began my fieldwork. However, my concern for the theoretical underpinnings for what I was attempting to do--interpreting "experience" in a face-to-face encounter--brought me back to have a new look at his theorizing in phenomenological sociology.

The writing and final analysis occurred simultaneously as literary themes and flashes of imagery appeared from my interaction with the data in the field notes. I had to decide how much to include and how much to exclude. In some ways, the educational critic resembles the theatrical critic. Both try to provide a vivid rendering of an ongoing "performance;" both resort to "a form of linguistic artistry replete with metaphor, contrast, redundancy, and emphasis that captures some aspect of the quality and character of educational life" (Eisner, 1977, p. 8). To reveal the meaning of an educational encounter requires "thick description" that discloses the significance of behavior as it occurs in a cultural network saturated with meaning (Geertz, 1973, p. 6).

The validity of such educational critical description depends on two key processes: structural corroboration (Pepper, 1945) and referential adequacy (Eisner, 1979). Structural corroboration, a mode used extensively by trial lawyers in jurisprudence, is concerned with whether the bits and pieces of evidence form a coherent, persuasive whole. Further validation is provided by the process of referential adequacy, which requires empirical checking of the critical disclosure against the phenomena described, interpreted, and evaluated. Checking the referential adequacy of educational criticism differs from checking the referential adequacy of art criticism because the latter involves returning to the work of art itself which remains static or stationary over time. However, as in ethnographic description, educational criticism of on-going events which have a dynamic, changing quality assumes that certain salient and significant characteristics of an educational situation are not radically altered over brief periods of time (Eisner, 1979, p. 218). Extended contact with persons in a particular classroom allows the critic to observe atypical events and characteristics and to distinguish the pervasive from the evanescent. Furthermore, in this study, additional validation was obtained by submitting the final report of the study to the classroom teacher involved.

Thus, using an ethnographic approach to discover the pattern of classroom events requires a familiarity with the school and classroom setting that can be a time-consuming, exhausting exercise. In addition, a qualitative study which uses New Journalistic techniques to disclose the meaning of classroom experiences raises ethical problems about reporting the intimate details of persons' life-worlds. Although the privacy of individuals can be protected by using pseudonyms and disguised locations, the ethical problem remains that such educational critical description may be misused by those for whom enlightenment is secondary to manipulation. It is an issue which only the researcher can resolve.

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APPENDIX A

KANATA KIT ONE TEACHER'S GUIDE

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APPENDIX B

KANATA KIT ONE TEACHER'S GUIDE

Unit Structure and Organization

Unit Structure and Organization

Unit Format	Process of Inquiry	Activities and Questions Guiding Research
PART I OPENER	Awareness Focus on major value issue Identify the issue Develop research questions hypotheses	1. What Is a Family? 2. Who Are Some Canadian Families? 3. What Are the Origins of Some Canadian Families? 4. What Are the Origins of Our Families? 5. What Do We Need to Know About Canadian Families? 6. How Can We Find Out About Canadian Families?
PART II RESEARCH	Research Assemble evidence Evaluate evidence	1. What Foods Do Canadian Families Like to Eat? What are this family's favourite foods? What are this family's special foods? 2. What Is Canadian Food? 3. Where Do Canadian Families Live? What is this family's home like? What is this family's favourite room? 4. Which Is My Family's Favourite Room? 5. Who Works at Home in Canadian Families? 6. Who Works Away From Home in Canadian Families? 7. How Do Canadian Families Have Fun? What kinds of fun do the members of this family have together? What kinds of fun do the members of this family have alone? 8. Where Can Families Have Fun in Alberta? 9. What Is a Tradition? What is a family tradition? What is a cultural tradition? 0. What Do We Need to Know About Traditions? 1. What Are Some Traditions of Canadian Families? What kinds of family traditions does this family have? What kinds of cultural traditions does this family have? 2. What Are Some Special Days and Holidays in Canada? 3. Why Is Language an Important Cultural Tradition? 4. How Is Culture Expressed Through Various Art Forms?
PART III CONCLUSION	Resolve the issue Refocus on issue Decide Apply the decision Act on decision Evaluate process	1. How Can Canadian Families Share Their Cultural Experiences? 2. What Happened at Mighty Moose's Party? Should we have a party? 3. How Can We Share What We Have Learned With Others? 4. What Happened at Our Party? What have we learned about how other Canadian families live? What have we learned about other Canadian families' traditions? How has my thinking changed? Should all Canadian families be the same? Should all Canadian families be different? Should all Canadian families be the same in some ways and different in other ways?
PART IV EVALUATION		Ongoing process evaluation throughout the unit.